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And if the people of this country suffered all this misery, instead of inflicting it, how justly should we think it was established by the Supreme Governor of the world, "That the people of one country, who enslave those of another, shall themselves be enslaved; and that a nation, thus allowing innocent blood to be shed by its subjects, should be made a desolate wilderness." Revelation xiii. 10. Joel iii. 19.

THE rest of these pages contain a short view of what appears to have been the conduct of the British nation to other countries—to the Caribbees of St. Vincent's—to the people of Corsica, Turkey, and Poland, &c. And it is hoped the change that has taken place in the circumstances of the British empire between the years 1763 and 1782—the whole of what we have suffered, the dangers to which we stand exposed, and the load of expence that has been laid upon the labours of industry, will warrant any attempt which may shew in the least degree the necessity of such an enquiry into our national conduct, as may discover whether this change in our circumstances may not have proceeded from ourselves, and be the just and necessary result of our own conduct; and how far it may be due to the rest of the world, and to our own safety, to reverse those national sentences which have been given within our own times, and which have had the effect of sanctions to that conduct of the subjects, which, within the last twenty years, has rendered miserable and destroyed millions of mankind; and which must lead a considerable part of the world to look forward with dread to the time when they shall hear of our recovering that state of peace, which, when last in our possession, was made use of as the season wherein to plunder, oppress, enslave, and to spread war and ruin in distant countries, whose inhabitants never came to do us any injury; and who have never received from us any acknowledgment or reparation for the wrongs they have suffered at our hands—wronges which, by the plainest rules of justice, demand the abolishing of

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the very being of those trading societies, in whose names such enormities have been practised in India and in Africa, and which, so long as they continue to exist in this nation, from the character they have obtained, cannot but place the whole community, in the esteem of a great part of the world, as in a state of avowed opposition to all the rights of other nations, whenever we have the power to deprive them of their possessions or enslave their persons — a conduct which, when passing with impunity in any country, or with the countenance of any state, is as expressive of defiance of the power and justice of the DIVINE BEING, as rebellion in subjects is of contempt to the government under which they live; nothing being more consistent with reason, or more plainly declared in the revealed will of the common CREATOR of mankind, than that he himself is offended whenever any of their just and natural rights are invaded.

10th May, 1782.

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EVIDENCE

E V I D E N C E
O F O U R
T R A N S A C T I O N S
I N T H E
E A S T I N D I E S.

C H A P. I.

Of the customs and manners of the inhabitants of India, and of the country, the seat of the English transactions.

THE country, the seat of the English transactions in the East Indies, is in the empire of the Great Mogul, called India within the Ganges, a country of about 2000 miles in length, and 1500 in breadth. Cape Comorin, in latitude 6, is its southern extremity; the Coast of Coromandel is its eastern shore, washed by the Bay of Bengal, into the upper or north part of which the great river Ganges empties itself through several channels. On one of these stands Calcutta, where the English have their principal factory in Bengal, called Fort William. Bombay lies on the west side of this great country, which is called the Malabar Coast. Madrafs and Fort St. David's, two other factories of our India Company, are on the east or Coromandel side. The city of Dehli is the capital of Indostan, and contains the imperial palace. India beyond the Ganges; the Main Land, or the Mogul's Empire; and India within the Ganges, are the three great divisions of this vast and

populous country. The Peninsula, or India within the Ganges, and the Mogul Empire, are included in the name of Indostan, and by some are said to contain more than an hundred millions of inhabitants.

THE province of Bengal is esteemed the store-house of the East Indies; and its fertility is said to exceed that of Egypt after being overflowed by the Nile. Amidst the plenty of its natural produce is rice, corn, and sugar; its calicoes, silks, and saltpetre go all over the world. The country is intersected with canals to the Ganges; and for an hundred leagues on both sides of that river the face of the country is full of cities, towns, villages, and castles. Such, says Mr. *Scrafton*, was the state of this country before it was ravaged by our late wars*.

THE Mahometans, or Moors of Indostan, make but a small proportion of the number of the inhabitants, by far the greatest part are the Gentoos, the native Indians descended from the original inhabitants of this country. The Bramins, who are the teachers of their religion, say, that Brumma, their law-giver, left them a book called the Videm, which contains all his doctrines. In this they are taught to believe in one Supreme Being, in the immortality of the soul, and a future state of rewards and punishments: but, from an opinion that sensible objects were necessary, these doctrines have been taught by allegory: hence they have images of God, according to the attribute they would express; his power, by an image with hands and swords; his wisdom, by an elephant's head: But in process of time, the explanation being lost, different images are worshipped in different parts; and the first great, but simple truth of an Omnipotent Being is lost in the absurd worship of a multitude of images, which, at first, were only symbols to represent his various attributes. Their customs are a part of their religion, being sanctified by the supposed divine character of their legislator, who, they believe, was a Being of so exalted a nature, as to be inferior only to God himself; of infinite knowledge, and all his words were truth.

THE natives of India are distinguished by their division into tribes; the principal of which are Bramins, Soldiers, Labourers, and Mechanics. Some few of the Bramins, who are versed in their learned languages, soar above the vulgar; but the generality are as ignorant as the laity. Such who are not

* Reflections on the Government of Indostan.

engaged in worldly pursuits, are a moral, superstitious, innocent people, who promote charity as much as they can to man and beast: but such who engage in the world are generally the worst of all the Gentoos; for, persuaded the waters of the Ganges will purify them from their sins; and being exempted from the rigour of the courts of justice, under the Gentoo governments, they run into the greatest excesses. The Soldiers are called Rajah-poots; persons, descended from Rajahs: they are more robust than the rest, have a nice sense of honour, faithful to those they engage to serve, have a great share of courage, but as soon as their leader falls in battle, they run off the field without any stain to their reputation. The Labourers are the next in rank: this tribe includes all who cultivate the land. And the Mechanics, all who follow any trade, merchants, and bankers. Besides these four tribes there is another division, called the Hallachoris, who may be said to be the refuse of all the rest. These are a set of poor unhappy wretches, destined to misery from their birth: they perform all the meanest offices of life, and are held in such abomination, that on the Malabar side of India, if they chance to touch one of a superior tribe, he draws his sabre, and cuts him down on the spot without any check from the laws of the country. The different tribes are kept distinct, and forbid to eat or drink out of the same vessel, and every deviation subjects them to be rejected by their tribe, and renders them forever polluted; and they are thenceforward obliged to herd with the Hallachores, to be exposed to the scorn and misery these rejected people are doomed to before they are born, and, do what they can, suffer till they die. But, excepting this injustice, amidst all their errors, they agree in thinking that there is ONE SUPREME GOD, AND THAT HE IS BEST PLEASED BY CHARITY AND GOOD WORKS. Their worship and ceremonies at the great temple of Jagernaut seem instituted to remind them of this; for there the Bramin, the Rajah, the Labourer, and Mechanic, all present their offerings, and eat and drink promiscuously together, as if they would insinuate, that all those distinctions are of human invention; and that in the sight of God all men are equal. The poor Hallachores are not suffered to come up to the temple among them. Surely their unconditional rejection is something worse than human invention! This division into tribes has always occasioned such a disunion among them, as has made them an easy prey to every invader; for no man thinks of defending himself, unless he is

of the Soldiers tribe : and hence it is that the invaders, who, like Alexander, came in on the northern frontiers, inhabited mostly by Rajah-poots, have always met a very brave resistance, while those who came in from the sea, have met with very little. But it is the same distinction also which has preserved the manufactures among them, under all the revolutions and all the oppressions introduced by the Mahometans; for while the son can follow no other trade than that of his father, the manufactures can be lost only by exterminating the people.

THEIR legislator has even ordained different kinds of food to the different tribes. The Bramins touch nothing that has life; their food is milk, vegetables, and fruit; and if you shew them through a microscope the insects on a leaf, invisible to the naked eye, they say it is a deceit; that the objects are in the glass, not in the leaf. Another circumstance, that contributes to form their general character, is their marrying when infants; and yet no women are more to be admired for their conjugal fidelity, in which they are distinguished beyond the rest of their sex, by that remarkable custom of burning with their husbands. Many authors ascribe this to have been instituted to prevent their wives poisoning them; but I am well persuaded, they often submit to it from a nice sense of honour and conjugal affection. Let it be considered, they are brought up together from their infancy, the woman has no opportunity of ever conversing with any other man; her affections are centered solely in this one object of her love; she is firmly persuaded that by being burnt with him, she shall be happy with him in another world; that if she neglects this last token of affection, he may take another wife, and she be separated from him for ever. No doubt they are likewise influenced by the disgrace of surviving him; for they are then condemned to a perpetual widowhood, and from mistrefs of the family degraded to the state of a menial servant. This affords but an unhappy prospect, whereas their burning themselves is thought to reflect great honour to the family; and there is no doubt but the dying husband recommends it to her in his last moments. Thus their minds raised to the utmost pitch by this strange commotion of love, grief, and honour, they go through the terrible trial with amazing fortitude. The practice is far from common, and only complied with by those of illustrious families. Nor is it on this occasion only that the Gentoos meet death with fortitude. The men are equally ready

to resign their lives to preserve their religious purity ; of which we had a remarkable instance in three Bramins, who had their daughters forced from them by a Mahometan, beyond the reach of justice. They complained to the governor of the province ; but finding no redress, they all swallowed poison, and died at the door of his tent. Another instance of their sincere devotion to their religious principles we had when the forces came from Madras, by the unexpected length of the passage, they were greatly reduced for provisions, insomuch that there was no rice left for the Gentoo seapoys, and nothing to serve out to them but beef and pork ; but though some did submit to this defilement, yet many preferred a languishing death by famine, to life polluted beyond recovery. The Mahometan governors often take advantage of this, when they want to extort money from them ; and though they will bear the severest corporal punishment rather than discover their money, yet, when once their religious purity is threatened, they comply, if the sum is in their power ; if not, and the man is beloved by his tribe, they make a subscription to raise the money. Fortitude on these occasions is common to all of them, even those who in other dangers appear of most dastardly dispositions. Such is the force of principle, that it has preserved its efficacy through a series of ages. And when we consider the dreadful penalties annexed to any deviations from what their religion ordains, we shall cease to wonder at the little change that appears among the Indians, compared with the earliest accounts we have of them.

THERE is no forming a general character of such a numerous people, spread over so vast a tract of country, extending from Cape Comorin, in the latitude 6, to Lahore in 30. The whole of it is divided into little principalities, many of which being tainted with the dissolute manners of their conquerors, afford a variety of characters differing according to the climate, the tribes, and the government. But, in justice to the Gentoo customs, I must say, that before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatic country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajahships, human nature in no part of the world afforded a finer scene of contemplation to a philosophic mind : every thing seemed calculated to promote agriculture and manufactures.

THE fruitfulness of these hot countries depending entirely on their being well watered, and the rainy season being here of very short duration, the preservation of the water is a principal object ; for which reason the high
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lands are mounded in by great banks, to collect the water that falls from the mountains; and these reservoirs are kept up by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain. The roads are planted with rows of large trees, which add to the beauty of the country, and afford a pleasing and refreshing shade; and every two or three miles are stone buildings called Choultrys, for the conveniency of travellers, who always find Bramins attending to furnish them with water. And so free is the country from robbers, that I doubt there having been an instance of one in the memory of man. The diamond-merchants, who generally pass this country, have seldom even a weapon of defence, owing to that admirable regulation, which obliges the lord of that spot where the robbery is committed, to recover the effects or make good the value. At the extremity of every town or village are large groves of trees, where the weavers carry on their manufactures; and, if the soil will admit, there is a handsome stone reservoir, called a Tank.

In the capital of every considerable district, is generally a large temple or pagoda; some of them most stupendous buildings, all of stone; the outsides, from top to bottom, adorned with little images, representing the histories of their gods. These pagodas are generally built by the Rajahs, or rather by successive generations of them, for some of them appear to be the work of ages. They consist of several courts, which contain places for their idols, and apartments for their Bramins, of which there are some thousands, who have generally the revenues of a tract of country assigned them for their support.

THE Bramins, who in other respects have perverted the doctrine of their founder, have however strongly inculcated the virtue of charity, by teaching them how much it will contribute to their happy transmigration. It is the height of their ambition to have a temple or choultry called after their name, and reflects more honour to their children than if their parents had left them immense wealth.

MANY of the Gentoo provinces yield a revenue, in proportion of extent of country, equal to our richest countries in Europe; and yet, like us, they have no mines, but draw their wealth from the labour of their hands. Such was the Carnatic before it was ravaged by our late wars. I have been told, that the Gentoos of the northern provinces

still preserve the Gentoo purity and simplicity uncontaminated; but they indeed were never properly subdued. The successors of Tamerlane made fierce and constant war upon them, but always met with a vigorous and brave resistance, and were at last convinced it was better to have them as a kind of tributary allies than enemies. Ehbar Shah was the first who entered into a treaty with them; his example was followed by succeeding emperors, and they long proved an excellent barrier against the Afghans and the northern Tartars: but when the emperors degenerated into lewd monsters and tyrants, they forsook their alliance, and thenceforward the empire was exposed to the invasion of the Mharattas, the Persians, and lastly of the Afghans.

THE most extensive Gentoo government is that of the Mharattas, who have now almost overturned the whole empire. The military spirit that has prevailed among them for the two last centuries, has utterly corrupted their manners; their manufactures are totally neglected; commerce is banished; and the Rajahs have laid waste their own country by their oppression, almost as much as that of their enemies; while the generals of their army and their soldiery are grown immensely rich by the plunder of more than half of the Mogul Empire. There are a number of Rajahships interspersed throughout India, which, by the advantageous situation of the country, have either never been subdued, or are only tributary to the Mahometans, preserving their own religion and laws; such is the Rajahship of Tanjour, the Rajah of which repulsed the veterans of France, commanded by Lieutenant-general Lally.

We read in ancient authors, that the Brachmans, who, I incline to think, were a set of philosophers, rather than the tribe of Bramins, excelled in astronomy, and were famed all over the world for their learning. It is very possible they had just pretensions to that character; but in all these eastern countries, if any man possesses any secret of nature, he only considers how he shall make use of it to delude the ignorant multitude, and attract their veneration; and therefore the key of the Arcana is trusted to very few. For example, that the Bramins could foretell an eclipse; and yet ask them the nature of it, and they tell you an absurd story of a dragon laying hold of the sun; and they teach the people to run into the river, and make all the noise they can, which they persuade them will frighten the dragon away. The Bramins are possessed of a list of eclipses calculated for some thousand years to come; but it is the system of the Bramins, that the vulgar are to be governed only
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by taking advantage of their ignorance : therefore we are not to wonder at the excesses they run into in judicial astrology, which they carry indeed to the highest degree of folly. Their almanac, composed by the Bramins, has not only a planet or genius that presides over every day, but over every hour, every minute, and every action ; nor do they enter on any new undertaking, without consulting it, and it requires a concurrence of fortunate circumstances to form a lucky minute. Some days are fit for going to the north, others to the south ; some days are so entirely taken up by evil spirits, that they abstain from all manner of business, and a clap of thunder at once breaks their resolutions, let the almanac say what it will ; so that between the Mahometan and the Gentoo astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils ; no new enterprize is begun without his being first consulted ; and the general who should march an army against the opinion of the astrologer, would be as much condemned as the Roman general who fought though the chicken would not feed. On the whole, the Gentoos, uninfluenced by the Mahometans, are a meek, superstitious, charitable people ; a character formed by their temperance, customs, and religion. They are almost strangers to many of those passions that form the pleasure and pain of our lives. Ambition is effectually restrained by their religion, which has, by insurmountable barriers, confined every individual to a limited sphere ; and all those follies arising from debauchery, are completely curbed by their abstaining from all intoxicating liquors ; but they are strangers to that vigour of mind, and all the virtues which animate our more active spirits. They prefer a lazy apathy, and frequently quote this saying from some favourite book : “ It is better to sit than to walk, to lie down than to sit, to sleep than to wake, and death is best of all.” Their temperance, and the enervating heat of the climate, starve all the natural passions, and leave them only avarice, which preys most on the narrowest minds. This bias to avarice is also prompted by the oppression of the government ; for power is ever jealous of the influence of riches. The Rajahs never let their subjects rise above mediocrity ; and the Mahometan governors look on the growing riches of a subject as a boy does on a bird’s nest : he eyes their progress with impatience, then comes with a spoiler’s hand and takes the fruit of their labour. To counteract this, the Gentoos bury their money underground, often with such secrecy as not to trust even their own children with the

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the knowledge of it; and it is amazing what they will suffer rather than betray it: when their tyrants have tried all manner of corporal punishments on them, they threaten to defile them; but even that often fails; for resentment prevailing over the love of life, they frequently rip up their bowels, or poison themselves, and carry the secret to the grave: and the sums lost in this manner, in some measure accounts why the silver in India does not appear to increase, though there are such quantities continually coming into it, and none going out of it.

THEY have but few children; at eighteen their beauty is on the decline, and at twenty-five they are strongly marked with age: the men, indeed, wear something better, though they also are on the decline after thirty. Thus the spring of life is but of short duration, and the organs decay before the faculties of the mind can attain to any perfection. Is nature then deficient? Surely not. We always see the organs of the body suited to the climate; nor do I know a stronger or more active race of people than the Mallays, who live mostly within six degrees of the equinoctial: we must account for the shortness of their lives in the early indulgence in pleasures, their sedentary way of life, and, in Bengal and the conquered provinces, in the dejected state of their minds, oppressed with the tyranny of their conquerors. No wonder then, that with such customs, such bodies, and such minds, they fall an easy prey to every invader.

OF THE MOORS.

THE word Moors is used by us to express the Mahometans of all sects and countries who are settled in India. It is indeed necessary to have some general word; for whether Pytan, Persian, or Tartar by birth, it matters not, the enervating softness of the climate soon forms but one common character of them, the distinguishing qualities of which are perfidy and sensuality: but it will be, nevertheless, necessary to trace their progress to that character, and to distinguish the various nations from which they come, before they are melted down into the common mass.

THE Moors of India have the following origins.

THE Arabs, who came from the Persian gulph, settled at Massulipatam; from thence made conquests of the open country up to Dehli, to which they

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gave a race of kings, who were expelled by Tamerlane and his successors; but they appear to have founded various colonies in different parts, who still subsist, and are called Pytans.

THE Afghans, who came from Candahar, and the mountains that divide Persia from Hindostan, are also called Pytans. The Mungul Tartars, who came from Bochara and Samarcand with Tamerlane, are commonly called Moguls. The same name is also given to the Ousbeg, Calmuc, and other tribes of Tartars, who are continually coming in, as a kind of adventurers; as well as the Persians, who, since the destruction of their own empire, seek a refuge at the courts of the Mogul and the Nabobs of the provinces. These, with the slaves they have brought up to their own religion, compose the whole body of Mahometans, whom we blend together, under the general denomination of Moors; and who, though not in number the hundredth part of the natives, yet, by the division of the Gentoos, keep them in subjection. The Moguls are in possession of the throne of Dehli, and most of the principal governments and employments dependant thereon.

If we would come at their true character, we must look for it in their education. Till the age of five or six, the boys of rank and family are left entirely to the women; and from the tenderness of their management they first acquire a delicacy of constitution: they are then provided with tutors, to teach them the Persian and Arabic languages; and, at this early age, they are brought into company, where they are taught to behave with great gravity and circumspection, to curb every motion of impatience, learn all the punctilious ceremonies of the eastern courts, to say their prayers in public, and every exterior of devotion; and it is astonishing to see how well a boy of eight or nine years old will acquit himself in company. They are also taught to ride, and the use of arms; and are furnished with their shield and sabre, and a little dagger at their waist, which is called a cuttarry, the principal use of which is to stab on occasion. After the hours of school and company are past, the parents admit them to all their plays and diversions.

THIS is the general education of all the great, and there are few exceptions; the poor and middling sort are only curbed by the shortness of their finances; for as soon as they acquire money, they tread in the steps of their superiors. Perfidy and sensuality would long since have destroyed the whole nation,

had they not been continually supplied with new recruits from their original country.

THE Pytans, as I said before, are settled in numerous colonies in the interior of India, and chiefly in the barren and mountainous parts, and appear to be the descendants of those Arabs who came from the Gulph of Persia, whose power was broke by Tamerlane and his successors; but such who had got possession of any country difficult of access, maintained themselves there, and their descendants are the best soldiers of the empire, but are detested by the Moguls, who look upon them to exceed themselves in perfidiousness and cruelty. They make a trade of hiring themselves out; and, if they have an opportunity, make no scruple of dethroning the power which hires them. As to the Afghan Pytans, they seldom continue here, they only make incursions for plunder, and return with their booty. The Ousbeck Calmucs, and the various tribes of Tartars, who come to settle here, when they first arrive, are bold, hardy, martial people. They generally bring a good horse with them, and are sure to be taken into service; for they are reckoned more faithful than other Mahometans. They begin as a simple cavalier, and are preferred by degrees, till some of them come to great commands. At first they abhor the sensuality and effeminacy of their masters; but by degrees their native manners wear off, they adopt the luxury they despised, they marry the women of the country; and their children, or at the utmost their grandchildren, have nothing remaining of their Tartar origin.

THE Persians are but a small number, and on account of the fairness of their complexion, and their politeness, are favourably received at court, the great men being desirous of marrying them to their daughters, that they may keep up the complexion of their family; for, degenerate as the Moors are, they are proud of their origin, and, as the Mogul Tartars are a fair-complexioned people, a man takes his rank in some measure from his colour. As to the slaves bred up to the Mahometan religion, they are much such a race as the converts the Portuguese make to their religion; they are destitute of all the commendable qualities of the Gentoos, and acquire only the bad ones of the Mahometans.

HOSPITALITY is almost the only virtue to which they can pretend. It seems to be a refuge from the oppression of the government; and many of them scruple a breach of faith with any man they have entertained under their roof. But friendship is not a sacred bond among them; it is ever in their mouths,

but seldom used unless to deceive. Their friendship, like their devotion, is all ostentation; they will drink a dram in the intervals between each prayer, though all spirituous liquors are forbid by their laws: and they will stab while they embrace you; for which reason the great men never embrace but on the left, that the person they embrace may not come at their dagger with their right hand. The Mahometans in other parts of the world are enthusiasts to their religion; but here the sects of Osman and Ali never disagree but about the succession to the government they live under. There are but few mosques, still fewer priests, and the great men, though, by habit, vastly punctual in their private devotions, rarely go to the public mosques.

THE Moors may be divided into two characters; those who aspire at power, and those who are in possession of it.

THE former are brave, active, vigilant, and enterprising, sometimes faithful to the party in which they engage; but once in possession of power, they seem to have sought it only to abuse it, by making it subservient to their sensuality. They abandon themselves to their pleasures, and seem to be fattening for a sacrifice to some one that possesses those qualities themselves have lost.

Till the invasion of Nadir Shah, there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce, and agriculture flourished; and none felt the hand of oppression, but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power: but when the governors of the provinces found the weakness of the Mogul, and each set up for sovereign in his own province, they invented new taxes, which the landholder was obliged to levy on his tenants. The old stock of wealth for some time supported this; but when that failed, and the tenants were still pressed for more, they borrowed of usurers at an exorbitant interest; and the government still continuing these demands, the lords of the land were obliged to do the same: but as all this while the value of the lands did not increase, the consequence was, that, at last, unable to pay the interest of the mortgages, the rents were seized by rapacious usurers. The government finding the revenues fall shorter every year, at last sent collectors and farmers of the revenues into the provinces. Thus the lord of the land was divested of the power over his country, and the tenants exposed to merciless plunderers; till the farmer and manufacturer, finding the more they laboured, the more they paid, the manufacturer, would work no more, the farmer cultivate no more than was necessary for the bare subsistence
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of his family. Thus, this once flourishing and plentiful country has in the course of a few years been reduced to such misery, that many thousands are continually perishing through want. The crown-lands are still worse off; let out to the highest bidder, the farmer of them looks no farther than to make the most of his short time; and the jaghire-lands alone remain unplundered. Hence that equal distribution of wealth, that makes the happiness of a people, and spreads a face of cheerfulness and plenty through all ranks, has now ceased; and the riches of the country are settled partly in the hands of a few usurers and greedy courtiers, and the rest is carried out of the country by the foreign troops taken into pay to maintain the governors in their usurpation. These grievances have arisen only since the invasion of Nadir Shah, from the disproportionate number of forces kept up by the revolted governors, whose necessities have led them into these oppressive measures; and not from the nature of the government: for, till within these very few years, merchants were no where better protected, nor more at their ease, than under this government; nor is there a part of the world where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vast plenty and variety of manufactories, and rich merchants, were proofs sufficient.

UNHAPPILY for the Gentoos, themselves are made the ministers of oppression over each other. The Moormen, haughty, lazy, and voluptuous, make them, of whom they have no jealousy, the ministers of their oppression; which further answers the end of dividing them, and prevents their uniting to fling off the yoke; and, by the strange intoxication of power, they are found still more cruel and rapacious than their foreign masters; and, what is more extraordinary, the Bramins still exceed the rest in every abuse of power; and seem to think, if they bribe God, by bestowing a part of their plunder on cows and Faquirs, their iniquities will be pardoned. Yet at the same time, they serve their tyrants with fear and trembling. There is no further connexion between them than the use they are of to each other. The Gentoos, cool, deliberate, and indefatigable in application, is urged on by the prospect of enriching himself, while his master finds means and leisure to give himself up to his pleasures. Thus all money affairs are in the hands of the Gentoos. Not only those of the government, but every Moorman of rank, and every merchant, has his Gentoos agent, who keeps his accounts, and is the petty tyrant over his tyrant's slaves. Thus much for the management of the revenues.

WITH respect to the executive part depending on power, the government
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of the Moors borders so near on anarchy, it may be wondered how it keeps together. Here every man maintains as many armed men as the state of his finances will admit; and the degree of submission is proportioned to the means of resistance; and the grand mystery of their politics is to foment this disunion. Whenever any subject becomes formidable, either by his wealth or power, they prefer the silent execution of assassination to that of public justice, lest a criminal publicly arraigned should prove as a standard of sedition.

LOYALTY and patriotism, those virtuous incentives to great and noble actions, are here unknown; and when they cease to fear, they cease to obey. But to keep their fears and mistrusts in perpetual agitation, whole legions of spies are entertained by the government: these are dispersed all over the country; and, insinuating themselves into the families of the great, if they engage in any plot, are sure to betray them; but oftener give false information against the innocent for the sake of reward. The person against whom they inform, ignorant whence the information comes, in self-preservation informs against his nearest friends. Thus mutual good faith, the bond of society, is broke; and treachery and suspicion embitter every hour of their lives: but still such measures answer the end of the government, as far as the inspection of the supreme power extends: in all these great unwieldy empires, they have no check on the distant provinces; and a governor has no sooner taken the oath of allegiance, than he plots how to break it with security. In vain are all precautions, where there is no check but fear: whatever calls the emperor from the centre of his dominions, affords the opportunity of a revolt; and this is the source of all their revolutions. Money is here the essence of power; for the soldiers know no other attachment than to their pay; and the richest party becomes the strongest.

ANOTHER principal cause of the frequent revolutions in this country is their strange error in the government of their armies. One would expect to see good sense in their military establishment at least. Their whole force is divided into great commands; and the pay is issued from the treasury to the respective generals. Hence the soldiers regard only the man from whom they receive their pay, and are intirely at his devotion, except indeed the Emperor's or Subah's body guard, which he pays himself; and he only endeavours to keep a kind of balance of power among those great officers; he does not study to attach the whole to himself, but only a majority; the rest he awes
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with his power, and makes them fight for fear : and what is more extraordinary, he keeps his troops greatly in arrear, from a mistaken notion that they will be true to him from the fear of losing their pay. The consequence is, that if the invader offers fair, he wins over the general officers to him, and a revolution is at once effected ; or else they refuse to take the field, till their arrears are paid ; and perhaps the treasury is too low to satisfy them, and by this delay the enemy have time to gather strength ; and finally, when the day of action comes, they draw their swords but faintly, having no great motive to inspire them with courage ; while the invaders are pushed on by the hope of reward and plunder. On the other side again, when the Emperors, or Subahs, have secured a majority of their general officers, and desire to dismiss a part of their force, they absolutely refuse to pay what is justly due to them, and make them and their soldiers quit the country, or perhaps follow them with a body of troops, and cut them in pieces.

AN Englishman cannot but wonder to see how little the subjects in general are affected by any revolution in the government. It is not felt beyond the small circle of the court. To the rest it is a matter of the utmost indifference whether their tyrant is a Persian or a Tartar ; for they feel all the curses of power without any of the benefits, but that of being exempt from anarchy, which is alone a state worse than they endure.

THE last conquerors of India were the Tartars, under the conduct of Timur Beg, a fierce and warlike people, who over-ran China and Persia ; but their posterity degenerated into a weak, effeminate race, incapable of maintaining the conquests acquired by the bravery of their ancestor ; so that in China they were soon expelled by the natives, till fresh irruptions of their uncorrupted countrymen again subdued them. The same in Persia, where the race of Tamerlane governed with great glory for some few reigns, till, enervated by the contagious softness of the people they subdued, they were unable to resist the invasions of the hardy mountaineers.

C H A P. II.

State of the government of the Mogul Empire, and of Bengal, at the beginning of the English wars in India.

FROM the conquest of India by Tamerlane, about the year 1398, the throne of the empire descended through a line of Mahometan princes to Aurengzebe; who, deposing his father in 1666, maintained himself in the possession of the throne till 1707, when he died. The revenues of the empire are said to have been raised by this prince to the annual sum of thirty-eight millions of pounds sterling. The sons of Aurengzebe contending for the dominions of their father, became subject to a combination of the great men of the empire, who raised and deposed at their pleasure a succession of emperors, till Mahomet Shah breaking the fetters of royalty, regained the authority of the crown, of which he was in possession in the year 1738, when Thomas Kouli Khan, usurper of the throne of Persia, invaded the Mogul empire with an army of an hundred and sixty thousand men. About a third part of the number were servants and attendants on the army, the rest were soldiers inured to the hardships and dangers of war; and they and their leader were animated with the hopes of plundering the richest country in the world. When the news of their approach arrived at Dehli, the imperial city, the Emperor was distracted with the divided counsels of his court. An old experienced general intreated his majesty to allow him to pick fifty thousand of his troops, with which he would give the invader sufficient employment to prevent his coming nearer the capital. But this advice was overruled, as being unworthy the dignity of the King; who in person took the field with an army of more than two hundred thousand men, besides a numerous train of attendants. Kouli Khan sat himself down with a river in the front of his army. The King encamped on the plains of Karnal. His army was soon in disorder for want of food, and the vigilance of the Persian troops swept the surrounding country. SAADIT KHAN, one of the King's generals, seeing his fellow-soldiers distressed for provisions, and ready to be overwhelmed no less by their own numbers than the courage and activity of the invader,

invader, was led by the impulse of his heart to the tent of the King; and, with the freedom of a soldier, told his master that there was no time to be lost in giving battle to the Persians; and, if the other generals refused to follow him, he would commence the attack with his own division of the army, desiring to die with his sword in his hand, rather than fall ingloriously through the necessity of hunger into the power of the enemy. A party of the Persians attempting to seize some of the baggage belonging to the King's army, the battle began between a small number, but speedily increased by supplies on both sides, till it became general. The Indian army placed great dependence on their elephants; *Shah Nadir* (as Kouli Khan is called) caused a number of camels to be sent against them, bearing stages on which fires were burning: the terror this gave to the elephants made them fall back and disorder the whole army. Before night came on, seventeen thousand Indians were slain, among whom were a great number of persons dear to his majesty, and of great consequence to the state. Not more than one half of the King's army was brought to engage; many fled towards the city; and the Persians pillaged at discretion, till they were interrupted by the night; in which the Persians buried their dead, between two and three thousand in number. About an equal number were wounded. A grand consultation was held in the Emperor's presence during the night. *Nizam al Muluck*, his minister and chief commander, related, in the most affecting manner, the deplorable state to which the fortune of that day had reduced the court, and the danger to which the Emperor's person was exposed; his opinion therefore was to accommodate matters with *SHAH NADIR*. Many on whom the King had most depended, were either among the killed or wounded; and though the officer who gave this advice to his majesty, was suspected of treachery, in corresponding with the invader, the ascendancy he had now acquired laid the King under a necessity to trust to his advice. Full power was accordingly given him by the Emperor to treat with the invader; and the third day after the battle this minister and another Indian lord were introduced into the presence of *SHAH NADIR*; who said to them—"I had intended to put your Emperor and his troops to the sword, but I will favour them; go tell him to come to me, and we will make up our quarrel in a convenient manner."

MAHOMED SHAH, the GREAT MOGUL, who, but a few days before, was looked upon by his subjects as possessing wisdom and power somewhat more

than human ; whose titles declared him King of all the Kings of the Earth, and Conqueror of the World, and who came from his palace in all the splendour of the east, was now only allowed two hundred horse to attend him to the camp of NADIR ; who placed him on a throne at his left-hand, and, after a few sentences of ceremony, said :—" You have without precaution
 " put your all to the issue of one blow : I saw how you were entangled, and
 " made you offers of accommodation ; but you was so ill advised, or puffed
 " up with childish conceits, that you neglected the terms of my friendship,
 " and abandoned your own interest. Now you see to what streights you are
 " reduced by the victorious arms of Persia. However, I will not take your
 " empire from you ; I only mean to indemnify myself for the expence of
 " this war, which must be paid : I will leave you in possession of your domi-
 " nions." He did so, after massacring above one hundred thousand of the
 inhabitants in plundering the capital of Dehli, and killing at least an hundred thousand more in his way through the country. This cruel invader returned to his own city of Kandahar, within the year (1739) taking with him more than seventy millions of pounds sterling in money and jewels.

THE cruelty of Thomas Kouli Khan is said to have extorted from a der-
 vise this bold address :—" If thou art a God, act as a God ; if thou art a
 " Prophet, conduct us in the way of salvation ; if thou art a King, render
 " the people happy, and do not destroy them." To which the invader re-
 plied—" I am no God, to act as a God ; nor a Prophet, to shew the way of
 " salvation ; nor a King, to render the people happy : but I am he whom
 " God sends to the nations which he has determined to visit with his wrath."

THE power and dignity of the Emperor were so reduced by this stroke, that he had nothing left him but the name of a king in many of his provinces. The governors of them only kept up a shew of allegiance ; and retained in their hands the revenues they raised from the subjects, to strengthen them in their usurpation. And, at the time the English military transactions first made a part of the history of the Mogul Empire, the heir to the throne was a state prisoner to one of these governors.

THAT part of the dominions which has been the seat of the English affairs—the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa—were in the year 1725 governed by *Soujah Caun*, who for his fidelity to the King was invested with this government in his family. Bahar and Orissa he governed by deputies, over Ben-
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gal he presided in person, and the city of *Muxadavad*, in the centre of Bengal, was the seat of his government.

IN his time two Moguls, brothers, named Hadjee Hamet, and Allyvherde Caun, came to Bengal, powerfully recommended by some of the principal Omrahs at court, and were received into his service; the former as an officer of the foot soldiers, who immediately attended his own person; the other as his Hookah, or pipe-bearer. Hadjee Hamet had in his younger days been at Mecca, which is implied by the title of Hadjee, given to all those who have made that pilgrimage. This alone is a great recommendation, in a country so far distant from a place, which, by the Koran, all Mussulmen ought to visit once in their lives; and a reputation for sanctity is the best disguise for an ambitious man, among a people so full of enthusiasm as are all the followers of Mahomet: it gave him an easy introduction to the great, which he well knew how to improve. He soon discovered his master's ruling passion: to this he made his court, and saw himself in the road to greatness; but was conscious of a weakness which might prove an invincible obstacle to his pursuits—the want of that martial courage so indispensably necessary in a country where no one is esteemed but by his merit as a soldier. That, he knew, his brother possessed in an eminent degree; he therefore determined to labour for his advancement, resigning to him the glory of command, and contenting himself with indulging an ardent thirst after riches. Fame and dominion were the darlings of his brother's more exalted soul. Thus, necessary to each other, they united those qualities which might have commanded success in a much greater enterprize. Hadjee well knew, that where the object of our pursuit is itself criminal, crimes are the steps by which we must ascend; no retreat, no listening to the voice of nature; the passions themselves must be subservient, and conscience hushed. Thus resolved, he is said to have made a sacrifice of his own daughter to his master. Admitted a favourite, he lifted his brother from one step to another, till, in the year 1729, he obtained for him the Nabobship of Patna, where Allyvherde Caun soon made himself very powerful; for, partly by policy, in setting the Rajahs of that warlike province at variance with each other, and partly by the success of his arms, he brought them to an entire submission, making them pay their tributes, and yet attaching them to his service. In the mean time, Hadjee, as prime minister, had acquired great riches both for himself and his master; but not chusing to depend en-

tirely on the frowns or smiles of another, and perhaps suspecting jealousy might be struggling with affection in his master's bosom, he eyed Patna as a secure retreat; and, by bribes among the great men at Dehli, he privately, in 1736, obtained a phirmaund, or royal grant, for his brother to hold the government of Bahar, independant of Bengal. This could not be so secretly transacted, but enough transpired to excite the jealousy of the Soubah; who was probably meditating revenge, when, in 1739, death surprized him. His only son, Suffraz Caun, succeeded him in his government, as well as in his designs against the brothers; but when the means were considered, he saw the artful fabric they had raised had too firm a basis for him to shake. Hadjee was in his hands; but he could not look on his brother's power without trembling. Awed by that, he determined to wait a more proper season; and Allyvherde, checked by his brother's being in the Soubah's power, durst not attempt any thing against him; so both determined to dissemble. Allyvherde filled his letters with protestations of loyalty and submission; as the Soubah did his with assurances of the confidence he had in him. As the courtiers and soldiers were mostly enemies to the brothers, it is possible the Soubah might in time have executed his purpose; but, indulging himself in excessive debauchery, even to that degree as to disorder his faculties, he soon rendered himself odious to his people, and lost the affections of those who might have supported him. But nothing hurt him so much as a disgrace he put on Jagutseat, the greatest banker, and perhaps the richest subject in the world. Hearing that his son, Seat Martabrug, was married to a young lady of exquisite beauty, he insisted on a sight of her: all the father's remonstrances were in vain; he persisted, and even sent people to force her from his house; saw her, and sent her back, possibly uninjured: but the very seeing her, in a country where women are kept concealed, was an injury never to be forgiven. The crafty Hadjee rejoiced in an event which seemed likely to add so powerful a family to their party: he immediately tendered his own and his brother's services, to revenge the dishonour: which were readily embraced; and they brought over likewise one Allumchand, who had been a faithful servant to the father, and would have been so to the son, but had incurred his displeasure, by representing too freely the ill consequences of his excesses. They had a conference; the issue of which was, that Allyvherde should march from Patna; that they would endeavour to win as many of the general officers to their party

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as they could; and, if they were successful, that Allyvherde Caun should have the Soubahship. But the former obstacle remained, Hadjee was still in the Soubah's power. Seat and Allumchand undertook to get him removed to Patna, and that even by the Soubah's desire. Accordingly, they represented to the Soubah, "That Hadjee was tampering with the general officers; that it was dangerous to keep him at court, and more so to attempt his life; but that, as he was no foldier, and could not add to his brother's strength, it was therefore most expedient to send him to Patna." The betrayed Suffraz Caun fell into the snare; and Hadjee received his dismissal with great joy. He soon joined his brother, and, by his artful eloquence, so glossed over the crime with the flattering expectations of future greatness, that Allyvherde, who else had probably been content with the authority he possessed, was dazzled by the splendor, and saw not that he undertook the death of his benefactor's son. Hadjee gave him no time to relent: the resolution was no sooner formed than executed; and, in December 1741, Allyvherde began his march, first writing to the Soubah, "That he was oppressed with grief to find he had so many enemies at court, who, by their misrepresentations, had persuaded him to disgrace his brother; that he was coming to fling himself at his feet, and prove himself his loyal servant." The Soubah, roused from his delusive slumber, would have taken vigorous measures; but the same traitors assured him, he had nothing to apprehend from Allyvherde Caun, who had only a few troops with him; that if he would give them leave to assure Allyvherde, in his name, that he would restore his brother to favour, and that he was convinced of his fidelity, that Allyvherde would march no farther. The Soubah was again deceived; and Allyvherde, by this delay of a few days, had time to gain the passes which divide Bengal from Bahar, where a few men might have checked his progress. The Soubah upbraided his counsellors with their treachery, who pleaded, that themselves were deceived; and he was now to put his life and government to the hazard of a battle. Their forces were nearly equal, each army consisting of about thirty thousand men; but it was the last day of his life that he was to experience how few were faithful to him. His chief reliance was on his artillery, little suspecting his master of the ordnance; who, after a few discharges without shot, went over to the enemy, and was followed by many others. Of all his commanders, Muffet Cooley Caun, Gofes Caun, and Bauncer Ally Caun, alone remained faithful to him. The two latter were killed. Muffet Cooley fought his
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safety in flight, and would have persuaded the Soubah to do the same; and his elephant-driver undertook to carry him safe to the city; but he cried, "He scorned to give way to the rebels;" and rushed with his guards into the thickest of the enemy, where, by his great efforts, he kept the event for some time dubious, till, overpowered by numbers, he yielded to the superior fortune of his rival. Muffet Cooley Caun fled for Cuttack, of which he was governor; while Allyvherde, joined by Suffraz Caun's army, entered Muxadavad, March 30, 1742; and soon shewed he wanted only a just title to make him worthy of this high station. Contrary to the general practice, he shed no blood after the action, contenting himself with putting Suffraz Caun's children under gentle confinement.

His first act was to send for Hadjee, whom he had left at Patna, that he might have the assistance of his superior judgment in maintaining what his own bravery, directed by his brother's counsels, had acquired: and, having rewarded his party with the posts lately filled by his adversaries, distributed part of his treasure among them, and received the submission of the Rajahs, and all the great men, he took the field, with a select body of Pattans added to his forces, under the command of Mustapha Caun, a general of distinguished merit: then, appointing his brother governor in his absence, he began his march against Muffet Cooley Caun, who was in Cuttack with the remains of Suffraz Caun's party. After a short and unsuccessful resistance, he fled with all his followers to Decan, and never more disturbed the Soubah.

He had but a short time to indulge himself in the pleasing thoughts of being in quiet possession of the three provinces, when he was suddenly alarmed with an invasion of eighty thousand Mharattas; who, entering over the Berbohim hills, made it doubtful whether he could reach his capital in time to preserve it.

It may be necessary here to say who the Mharattas are, and what their pretensions in Bengal.

THE Rajah of Sittarah, commonly called the Sou Rajah, a corruption of the family name of Sehoo, put himself at the head of a confederacy of the independant Rajahs, who possess all the country called the promontory of India, from Gaujam west to Guzzerat: and Aurengzebe finding all his endeavours to conquer them in vain, and that they harraffed the Decan and other provinces bordering on their territory, was at last glad to make peace with them on their own terms. These were, the independant enjoyment of
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the above countries, exclusive of the port of Surat, and the quarter part of the revenues of Decan, for which a certain sum was stipulated, which was called the Chout; but the treaty was never strictly observed on either side. When the Emperors had no other wars on their hands, they refused to pay the chout; and when there were any intestine divisions in the Mogul empire, the Mharattas never failed to extend their boundaries; till, gathering new strength as the Mogul's declined, they encreased their demands to the chout of the whole empire, to which the weak Emperors were obliged to submit. This year the Sou Rajah sent to demand the chout. The Emperor, brought to the last state of imbecillity by the invasion of Nadir Shah, and unable either to resist or comply, proposed to them, among other expedients, to send a force against Allyvherde Caun, to receive the revenues of the two last years, send his and his brother's head to court, and reinstate the family of Sujah Caun. The Mharattas gladly embraced a proposal which seemed to insure them the conquest, or at least the plunder of three rich provinces.

As their force consists solely of light horse, they made such rapid marches, that their arrival was the first notice the Soubah had of their intentions; and he was then unfortunately at the very extremity of his territories. By forced marches he reached the province of Burdwan; but finding the enemy must be up with him should he attempt to join his brother, he there intrenched himself, and was soon surrounded by the Mharattas, who, though superior in number, did not attempt to force him. Boscar Pundit, the Mharatta general, now sent a messenger to acquaint him with his demands; which were, the revenue due to the crown, the chouts of the two last years, the treasures of Soujah Caun and Suffraz Caun; and that for the future the Sou Rajah should have officers of his own to collect the chout, in every district of the three provinces. The intrepid Allyvherde, exasperated to hear such haughty terms, boldly resolved to fight his way through the enemy, and join his brother. He put himself at the head of the Pattans; who, animated by his example, and the promise of reward, charged with such fury, that they soon cut their way through the enemy, and gained the high road to the capital. They were followed by the whole Mharatta army for three days together, till at last they reached the town of Cutwa, where happily the river was fordable; and here his situation admitted of a little rest: but when he formed his forces for passing the river, he found them reduced to no more than three thousand Pattans; the rest of his army, consisting mostly of Bengal troops, the worst
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soldiers in the empire, had taken the opportunity, while the enemy was employed against the Pattans, of marching off towards Cuttack. The Soubah now saw, that the dangers past were far short of those in prospect; but, master of himself at all times, he betrayed no sense of fear; and he gave his orders with a cheerfulness which was to his troops a certain omen of success.

THERE was one pass only by which the Mharattas could come to attack him, before he gained the river: this he gave in charge to Mustapha Caun, assisted by Zaindee Hamet Caun, Hadjee's eldest son, and Meer Jaffier with eighty Pattans, with orders to maintain it till the whole army crossed the river. The Mharattas, imagining the Soubah proposed to continue at Cutwa till joined by his brother, stood for some time astonished at the desperate attempt; but when they saw his army in the river, enraged to see their prey escape out of their hands, they attacked the defile with the best of their troops; but all the efforts were in vain against the brave Pattans, who obeyed their orders with the loss of half their number, and joined the Soubah with the rest on the other side of the river; and, in this memorable affair, Meer Jaffier is said to have killed ten Mharattas with his own hand. Their valour was amply rewarded by their generous master, who, on his arrival at Muxadavad, presented Mustapha Caun with ten lacks of rupees*, and the rest in proportion. The Soubah upbraided his brother in the severest terms for his cowardice, in not coming to his assistance; who pleaded, that, giving him over for lost, he employed his time in fortifying the city; which the Soubah found sufficiently strong against an army which had no cannon. He had now struck such a terror into his enemies, and had so well established his character as a soldier, that the Mharattas, not daring to attempt the city, contented themselves with ravaging the country all round, till the approach of the rains obliged them to retire back into the Burdwan province, and put an end to their operations.

THE Soubah, on his accession, had ordered large levies of troops in the province of Bahar; so that in October, the rains being over, he again took the field at the head of fifty thousand men. The Mharattas also increased their strength by the desertion of Meer Hubbib from the Soubah's party,

* The rupee is a silver coin, struck in the Mogul's mints, with an inscription of his name and titles, the year of his reign, and the place at which it was struck. It weighs from 7 dwts. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ gr. to 7 dwts. 11 gr. and the proportion of alloy to fine silver is as 1 or 2 to 100. One hundred thousand rupees make a lack, which is equal to 12,500 l. sterling; one hundred lacks a crore; one hundred crores an arrib.

who carried some cannon with him. He had been deputy governor of Dacca, but being called to the Soubah's court, to answer to some crime laid to his charge, he rather chose to trust himself with the enemies of his country, than abide the resentment of an injured master; and his great knowledge of the country made him very useful to them.

THE Mharattas, according to their usual practice, would never venture a general action, but endeavoured to bring the Soubah to terms by harassing his troops and plundering his country. The Soubah sent to offer peace; but the Mharattas, to their former terms, added that of the resignation of his government to Suffraz Caun's eldest son. Provoked at this, the subtle Hadjee tempted his brother to try what treachery could effect. A conference was proposed and accepted. A tent was pitched between both armies: and Boschar Pundit, relying on the Soubah's oath on the Koran for his personal safety, advanced with thirteen of his general officers: The tent was double, and lined with armed men, who, on the signal given, rushed on the unprepared Mharattas, and cut them to pieces in sight of their own army, who breathed instant revenge; but the Soubah advancing at the head of his troops, struck terror into a multitude without commanders, and the Mharattas, by a speedy flight, disappointed him of his hopes of bringing them to a general engagement. The only revenge in their power was ravaging the country, which they did most effectually, burning the towns, and destroying the inhabitants without regard to sex or age. The Soubah pursued them so closely, that he at last drove them back over the Berbohim hills, having killed many in different skirmishes, and making a number of prisoners.

The flattering prospect was but as a sudden calm, while the clouds gather together to return with greater violence; for advice was now, 1744, brought of a fresh army of Mharattas entering by the way of Cuttack, under the command of Ragojee; and of another, by the way of Patna, commanded by Bala-jerow, general to the Sou Rajah; each of sixty thousand horse. But, though independent of each other, they agreed to act in concert, and make an equal division of all plunder and advantages that might be obtained.

The Soubah, who was returning from Berbohim, apprehensive of being inclosed, regained Cutwa by speedy marches, and proceeded to his capital with a mind full of anxiety at the mortification of being obliged to leave his country exposed to merciless plunderers. He made such additional works to the city as the short time would permit; and, leaving it under the charge of

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Hadjee,

Hadjee, he took the field again with an army of observation, composed of troops whose bodies were half exhausted by fatigue, and their minds spiritless through despondency. But behold a dawn of hope! He soon traced the marks of discord between the two Mharatta generals; and, by the mediation of Sarfarow, a conference was consented to by the Soubah and Balajerow, at which a peace was concluded on the following terms: The Soubah paid twenty-two lacks for the chout of the two last years, engaged to pay it regularly for the future, and, it is said, gave a large sum as a present to the general himself; who, on his part, promised to retire out of the country, and to assist in driving out the other Mharatta army also. Balajerow did indeed retire himself, but left the Soubah to fight it out with his confederate; who, being no match for the Soubah, divided his forces into small bodies, and laid waste whatever had been spared by his predecessors, till the rains, and the Soubah's pursuit, once more drove them out of the country.

THE next year they renewed the same scene; but the Soubah attacked them so closely, that he cleared the country of them early in March 1745, Orissa and Cuttack only remaining in their hands: and now he promised himself some respite, at least till the month of October. He this year appointed Zaindee Hamet Caun Nabob of Patna; who set out for that province with a considerable body of troops, to prevent the incursions of the province. About this time the Soubah first conceived a jealousy of the great reputation of his general Mustapha Caun, who, by his bravery, and unlimited profusion to his Pattans, had made himself extremely beloved by them; crimes sufficient to render him obnoxious, under a government depending intirely on military power, and where there is no medium between supreme command and abject slavery. The generous open temper of the man considered, I doubt much whether the Soubah's suspicions were justly founded; but his death was resolved on; and it was determined to assassinate him the first time he came to court. Mustapha was too much beloved to have it kept a secret from him. To be warned was sufficient to be safe. His first thoughts prompted him to revenge; which he was powerful enough to execute, but could not resolve to spill the blood of a man he once loved. He rather chose to quit the country with his Pattans, and was followed by Sumseer Caun at the head of a considerable body more. They took their route towards Bahar, intending to pass through that province into their own country.

THE brothers, alarmed at so great a defection, and sensible no enemy is

so dangerous as an injured friend, but, above all, apprehensive of their joining the Mharattas, by great rewards and greater promises, attached the rest of the Pattans to them. The Pattans, not suspecting any pursuit, had marched but slowly, and were overtaken near Patna. Receiving advice at the same time, that Zaindee Hamet Caun was marching from that city toward them, they instantly determined to face about and attack the Soubah, whose forces were little superior to their own. The battle began with the most promising appearance of success for the Pattans, till Mustapha Caun, borne away by the torrent of his passion, endeavoured with too great impetuosity to penetrate that part where the Soubah was, but met with a resistance equally brave, and received his death's wound from an arrow lodged in his eye. The Pattans, as if their general was their only source of life and courage, instantly fled, and with their general Sumfeer Caun, reached their own country.

THE brothers never escaped a greater danger; and in the frenzy of their joy, forgetting the great services they had received from the unfortunate Mustapha, they shamefully exposed his remains to be carried in an ignominious manner through the streets of Patna.

THE Mharattas, in this and the following year, 1746-7, again renewed their incursions. All the Soubah could do, was, to cover the country to the east of the Ganges; north and west from Cuttack to Rajahmant, lay desolate and uncultivated. Indeed they were not so numerous; the country that had been so long exposed to them, would no longer support such vast armies. But while his attention was taken up by them, a greater, and more unexpected misfortune befel him. The fugitive Sumfeer Caun returned, the beginning of this year, at the head of seven or eight thousand Pattans, on a project concerted between him and Meer Hubbib, for the plunder of Patna. Of this Hadjee had some intelligence, and hastened to assist his son with his counsels. Sumfeer Caun arrived on the opposite side of the Ganges, within a few hours march of the city, and wrote a letter to the Nabob of Patna, feigning contrition for what was past, and desiring his intercession with the Soubah to restore him to favour. Hadjee advised him to try the same stratagem which had been so successful against Boschar Pudnit; but his son, whether from scruple or fear, hesitated, and returned for answer, that he was not empowered to promise him pardon, but had wrote to the court in his behalf. The orders soon arrived, which were, to follow his father's in-

structions. The Soubah, at the same time, the better to deceive the Pattans, wrote to Sumfeer Caun, that he gladly accepted his services, and pressed his march to Muxadavad. This proposal Sumfeer Caun made use of to cross the river, giving out he intended to march on to Bengal. Both parties desired a conference with the same treacherous views. It was settled they should meet on a plain before the city, where a tent was pitched, under which Hadjee had contrived to sink a mine, which was to be fired as soon as Zaindee Hamet Caun retired.

SUMSEER came at the time appointed, attended by a chosen band; each party endeavoured to conceal their designs, by most exaggerated assurances of mutual friendship. On Zaindee Hamet's rising to take his leave, Sumfeer Caun and his followers drew their sabres, and cut down the Nabob and those that attempted to defend him. In this confusion the mine was neglected, and the Pattans advanced and entered the city with the fugitives, where they took old Hadjee prisoner as he was attempting to escape in disguise. No stratagem, no wily art could avail. After suffering every indignity which wanton cruelty could suggest, he was severely scourged, and mounted on an ass, with his legs tied under the belly, and thus was led the same tour he himself had appointed for Mustapha Caun. Fresh tortures were then inflicted on him; and more were in reserve, till one of his guards, pitying his great age and sufferings, conveyed him a dose of poison, which put a period to his miserable life.

Thus Hadjee Hamet deservedly met the same doom himself had sentenced others too, and gave the world an instance more of the incompatibility of wickedness with happiness.

ALLYVHERDE CAUN was for some time inconsolable for this misfortune. In his brother he lost the faithful pilot, who had successfully steered the vessel, in which their common fortunes were embarked, through all the storms and dangers of usurped authority; and in Zaindee Hamet, the prop and staff of his declining years, to whom he had given one of his daughters in marriage, and whom he had destined for his successor in the soubahship, of which his great merit rendered him every way worthy. But fresh dangers soon roused him from his lethargy. Agreeable to the plan concerted between Sumfeer Caun and Meer Hubbib, the Mharattas now entered the country by the Berbohim pass, while Sumfeer Caun advanced with his Pattans towards the Soubah, who had already taken the field, to revenge his brother's death.

His first step was to endeavour, by forced marches, to prevent their junction. The three armies, thus marching towards each other, met at Bogglepore, as at one common centre, which they all reached at the same time; but with this circumstance, that the Soubah found himself between their armies, both now ready to attack him. In this dilemma, his superior genius, ever fruitful in resources, suggested to him an expedient, which extricated him from the greatest danger he was ever yet exposed to. The Pattans, he knew, fought from a principle of revenge for the death of Mustapha, and from an attachment for their surviving master; but the Mharattas for plunder only: leaving therefore his camp standing, he advanced briskly towards the Pattans, who stood him the hardest struggle he had ever yet been engaged in, but which ended in their total rout by the death of their commander Sumseer. This stratagem had its utmost effect. The Mharattas, regardless of the views of their general, and unrestrained by military laws, instead of attacking the Soubah's rear, fell to plundering his camp, regardless of all the exhortations of their officers. The Soubah, after the Pattans were once broken, instead of pursuing them, found the Mharattas plundering his camp in the utmost confusion. Thus, incapable of making any stand, they were totally routed with very little loss to the Soubah, who, thus revenged for the loss of his faithful brother and beloved nephew, returned to the capital.

The Mharattas never ceased their incursions, but kept him almost continually in the field; and the little respite he had, was fully taken up in contriving means to raise money, to support the immense expences he was at in maintaining forces against them, to which he obliged every body to contribute: nor did the European settlements escape, but, in 1747, were obliged to pay their quota; he observing always this policy; not to demand it of them all at the same time, as he wisely judged their union only could make them formidable.

At last, in 1753, a firm treaty was settled with the Sou Rajah, by which the province of Cuttack was given up to him, and the chout was settled at twelve lacks per annum, since which they have never molested these provinces. The only alarm he ever met with after this, was the march of Monsur Ally Caun, Visir of the empire, into the province of Bahar. I am not well acquainted with the motives of his coming: but he proceeded as far as Patna; and it is probable, if he had continued his march to Bengal, the Soubah's troops, awed with the pomp of royal authority, and indeed inferior in every respect,

respect, would not have drawn a sword for him. Whatever the Visir's intentions were, the intrigues carrying on against him at court obliged him to return. Allyvherde Caun made him a magnificent present; and the Visir, in return, confirmed him in his soubahship, on condition of his remitting yearly to court fifty-two lacks of rupees, in which he was afterwards very punctual.

WE have seen this brave usurper struggling through difficulties which nothing but the utmost constancy and intrepidity could surmount. Let us now follow him through the more pleasing scenes of domestic life and public tranquillity. His great age, being now in his seventy-third year, the low state of his treasury, and the distressed condition of the provinces, which had been exposed to the Mharattas, and lay uncultivated, and the manufactures lost, all required the rest of peace, which henceforward it was his whole attention to preserve. I mentioned before, he had no sons of his own; he therefore treated as such the issue of Hadjee, who were Nowagis Mahmud Caun, married to his eldest daughter, Sid Hamet, and three sons of Zaindee Hamet. The eldest of Zaindee Hamet's sons, named Mirza Mahmud, a lad of seventeen years of age, he adopted himself; and took into his family the youngest, named Merzee Mundee; but the second, called Fazeel Cooley Caun, was adopted by Nowagis Mahmud Caun. Nowagis, the eldest of Hadjee's children, he made Nabob of Dacca, with the whole revenue of that rich province to maintain his court; Sid Hamet was made Nabob of Purbhuna, with the enjoyment of its revenues; and Mirza Mahmud was made nominal Nabob of Patna. But the old man well knew that no Mussulman was to be trusted with the power annexed to that nabobship; and therefore sent one Joninam, a Gentoo, as deputy governor, always observing to visit that province once a year himself. And having thus trusted the distant provinces to those he thought he could confide in, he, in 1751, disbanded the greatest part of his forces, relying on his reputation in arms, to keep his neighbours in awe.

Until the year 1752, it was imagined he intended Nowagis Mahmud Caun for his successor; but whether he thought his narrow genius unequal to the task of government, or was more particularly biased by his great affection to Mirza Mahmud, he this year associated the latter in the government, declared him his successor, and procured him from court the title of Surajah al Dowla*. This was the signal of dissension; and henceforward his court was a continued scene of feuds and animosities betwixt the contending parties. Most people who observed the strict union between the two nephews; that

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* Lamp of riches,

the eldest had amassed great riches, and, though a weak effeminate man himself, had for his prime minister one Hossain Cooley Caun, an able politician, and much esteemed by the army; and the other nephew possessed of a rich province, well secured by rivers and mountains, and daily increasing his forces; and compared with these the unpromising qualities of Surajah Dowla, who was continually immersed in debauchery, drinking to the utmost excess, chusing his companions from the dregs of the people, and giving every indication of a vicious and corrupt mind; most people, I say, little imagined the succession would ever fall to him. But, in 1754, the balance seemed to incline to him; for the Soubah determined in his favour; and, apprehensive Nowagis might prove too powerful for him, thought it expedient to deprive him of his chief support in Hossain Cooley Caun; but as his nephew was deputy governor of Dacca, they began with him, lest Hossain Cooley Caun should suspect their intentions, retire to Dacca, and set up for himself. The conduct of this affair was left to Surajah Dowla, who chose for his instrument one Aga Saddoe, whose father was governor of Chittigong, but resided at Dacca. The son, an extravagant debauched youth, was then under confinement at Nowagis Mahmud Caun's palace, being left there as hostage till he paid a large sum due for the revenues of his government. Surajah Dowla assisted him in his escape. He landed at Dacca the first of December 1755, and engaged his father in the enterprize, deluded probably by the promise of Surajah Dowla to make him governor of Dacca. The father and son, with twelve of their dependants, surprized the governor in the dead of night, and, after some little resistance, in which the father was wounded, they cut off his head, and proclaimed it to be done by the order of Surajah Dowla: but the next day, an order arriving from Nowagis Mahmud Caun, to seize Aga Saddoe, the great men of the city immediately assembled their forces, and attacked him. The son, with some of his desperate followers, cut their way through their opponents, and made their escape; but the father, and the rest of their party, were killed. This news reaching the capital, the different parties were immediately in arms; but the old Soubah assuring his nephew that Aga Saddoe had made this attempt entirely in revenge for his confinement, the weak timid Nowagis was appeased, and the consequence was, that Surajah Dowla, a few days after, murdered Hossain Cooley Caun in the streets of Muxadavad. This pusillanimous conduct of Nowagis, made many quit his party, apprehensive of the same fate. The old Soubah now gave evident
signs

signs of his approaching end. Men's wishes and inclinations are apt to deceive their judgments. Surajah Dowla daily rendered himself more odious; and great reliance was had on the union of the two brothers. But providence, for its own wise ends, favoured this youth with rapid success. Nowagis and Sid Hamet both died a natural death, within a month of each other; and Allyvherde followed them, April the 10th, 1756, first giving Surajah Dowla the keys of his treasure, and declaring his desire that he should succeed him. I have before mentioned Surajah Dowla, as giving to hard-drinking; but Allyvherde, in his last illness, foreseeing the ill consequences of his excesses, obliged him to swear on the Koran, never more to touch any intoxicating liquor; which he ever after strictly observed. But the excesses he had already committed, had disordered his faculties to that degree, that he had ever after a disturbed imagination; sometimes frantic with passion, and cruel to those about him; then again caressing them on equally frivolous grounds; and all his words and actions betrayed a violent and uneven temper. Judges of human nature will be apt to prognosticate his sudden fall from such symptoms; yet he came to the Subahship with the most flattering prospect. He had an army formed by his predecessor, a full treasury, and no competitors but the son of Sid Hamet, in arms in Purrhunea, and an infant named Moradda Dowla, son to his brother, who had been adopted by Nowagis Mahmud Caun, and was now supported by his widow, with a party which at first appeared formidable; but the attraction of a full treasury soon won that party over, and the widow, left alone, was received, with the child, into his own palace.

THE late Subah had frequently observed, that the Europeans were likely to conquer the whole country, and advised his grandson to keep a watchful eye over them: He used to compare the Europeans to a hive of bees, of whose honey you might reap the benefit; but if you disturbed their hive they would sting you to death.

A FEW days before his death, he said to his grandson, " My life has been a life of war and stratagem: For what have I fought, for what have my councils tended, but to secure you, my son, a quiet succession to my Subahdary? My fears for you have for many days robbed me of sleep. I perceived who had power to give you trouble after I am gone hence. Hossain Cooley Cawn, by his reputation, wisdom, courage, and affection to Shaw Amet

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Jung, and his house, I feared would obstruct your government. His power is no more. Monichund Dewan, who might have been your dangerous enemy, I have taken into favour. Keep in view the power the European nations have in the country. This fear I would also have freed you from, if God had lengthened my days.—The work, my son, must now be yours : Their wars and politics in the Telinga country should keep you waking : On pretence of private contests between their Kings, they have seized and divided the country of the King, and the goods of his people, between them : Think not to weaken them all together. The power of the English is great ; they have lately conquered Angria, and possessed themselves of his country ; reduce them first ; the others will give you little trouble, when you have reduced them. Suffer them not, my son, to have factories or foldiers ; if you do, the country is not yours.”

MR. Forth, who was then at the Nabob's court, gave the following account of what passed before his death :

“ ABOUT fifteen days before the old Nabob died, I being obliged to attend every morning to see him, his son came in, and with a face full of repentment and anger, addressed himself to the old man :—Father, I am well informed the English are going to assist the Begum. The old man asked me directly if this was true ? I answered, That this must be a malicious report, of some who were not our friends, and done on purpose to prejudice the Company ; that the Company were merchants, and not foldiers ; and that in all the troubles that had happened in the country, since we had a settlement in it, if he pleased to enquire, he would find, we had not joined any party, or interfered in any thing but our trade ; and that the Company had been nigh a hundred years in this country, in which time they never once had a dispute with the government on that head.—How many foldiers, says he, have you in your fort or factory (Cossimbuzar) ? Answer, The usual number, about forty, gentlemen included.—Have you never more ? Answer, No, only when the Morrattors were in the country ; but as soon as they were gone, the foldiers were returned to Calcutta.—Do you know, asked he, if the Dutch and French have any come up ?—Answer, I cannot tell.—Where are your ships of war ?—Answer, At Bombay.—Will they come here ?—Not that I know of ; there is no occasion for them.—Had you not some here three months ago ?—Answer, Yes, there comes one or two yearly, for to carry provisions for the rest of the ships.—What is the reason you have these ships of war in these parts of late ?—

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Answer,

Answer, To protect the Company's trade, and for fear of a war with France.—Is there war now between you and the French?—Answer, No, not at present, but we are afraid it will be soon. He then turned about to his grandson, and told him he did not believe a word of the report he had heard; upon which Surajah Dowla answered, He could prove it. The old man desired I would send our Vaqueel to him directly; which having accordingly done; when he returned, I asked the Vaqueel what the old man said to him, which was almost word for word what passed with me. Surajah Dowla ordered the Vaqueel to attend his Durbar daily, which was accordingly done.”

SUCH were the thoughts of Allyvherde Caun of the English, before he resigned his government and his life to Surajah Dowla, his successor. Here we may find the motives from which the war against the English took its rise in the mind of the young Nabob. Allyvherde Caun, the successful usurper of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, grown old in the art of Eastern government, lays him down to die; and, looking upon the heir of his fortunes, says to him, “My son, the power of the English is great; reduce them first; when that is done, the other European nations will give you little trouble. Suffer them not to have factories or soldiers; if you do, the country is not yours. I would have freed you from this task, if God had lengthened out my days.—The work, my son, must now be yours. Reduce the English first; if I read their designs aright, your dominions will be most in danger from them. They have lately conquered Angria, and possessed themselves of his country and his riches. They mean to do the same thing to you: they make not war among us for justice, but for money. It is their object; all the Europeans come here to enrich themselves; and, on pretence of private contests between their Kings, they have seized the country of the King, and divided the goods of his people between them. Love of dominion, and gold, hath laid fast hold of the souls of the Christians, and their actions have proclaimed, over all the East, how little they regard the express precepts they have received from God. They believe not that life and immortality which is brought to light by their revelation. They act in defiance of the good principles they would pretend to believe. My son, reduce the English to the condition of slaves, and suffer them not to have factories or soldiers; if you do, the country will be theirs, not your's. They who, we see, are every day using all their policy, and their power, against what they themselves say is the law of the Most High, are only to be restrained by force.”

Advice like this, from Allyverde Caun, recommended by his great reputation, and coming with the affection of a father, to Surajah Dowla, leaves us at no loss to account for his motives for the war against the English.

C H A P. III.

The war between Surajah Dowla, Nabob of Bengal, and the English.

IN May 1757, Surajah Dowla was in full march against the Nabob of Purhunea, when suddenly, he returned to the city, and publicly declared his intention to extirpate the English; and without further delay he encamped his whole army opposite to the English factory at Cossimbuzar, and summoned Mr. Watts to surrender the place to him, at the same time sending him a beetle as a token of friendship, and assurance of personal safety. Mr. Watts having only five-and-twenty Europeans in garrison, and being sensible that if he resisted, he exposed all the English effects in the Soubah's dominions to be immediately seized; that at the utmost he could not hold out above a day or two; and finally, ignorant of the cause of the Soubah's displeasure, obeyed the summons. But, contrary to promise, the Soubah immediately made him prisoner, and presented him the following articles to sign:

I. THAT we should demolish all our new fortifications.

II. GIVE no protection to his subjects.

III. MAKE good all that the government had suffered by the abuse of the dustucks*.

THE first article alluded to some additional works carrying on, on the apprehension of an approaching French war.

THE second was to deprive us of the power of protecting our merchants and their agents, in which they were privileged by a royal grant.

* Meaning the privilege given us to grant passes, free from all government duty, to the Company's trade.

THE third was rather an opening to extort a large sum of money from the Company; for it is almost impossible but there must be some abuse in a privilege of that kind.

THESE Mr. Watts signed, and was then made to give up the factory to him, the gates of which he ordered to be sealed, and then marched on to Calcutta. These articles were no more heard of, and he seemed bent on our destruction: and, that none might presume to divert him from this resolution, he exacted an oath from Jagutseat, who had always acted as mediator between the government and the Europeans, not to interfere, or offer any argument to make him alter his mind. After this, no one dared to plead for the unfortunate English; and the Soubah, surrounded by a thousand greedy minions and hungry officers, all eager for the plunder of so rich a place, heard nothing but the most servile applauses of his resolution. Thus the avenues to justice and mercy were shut up, and all our submissive offers ineffectual. I shall not dwell on all the circumstances of the siege, which was such as might naturally be expected from a garrison consisting almost entirely of citizens, with a few soldiers, commanded by officers who had never seen an action, and a fort, that looked more like merchants warehouses, than a place of defence. June 19th, the enemy had made such progress, that a general retreat was determined on for the next day; but whether or not the Governor thought himself the more immediate object of the Soubah's fury, and therefore his danger greater than the rest, instead of waiting the appointed time, or giving proper orders to the garrison, he went out at the River-gate, and got on board the first ship he could come to. All that were near, and saw the Governor going off, concluded the retreat was general, and rushed out with him. They seized the boats that were at the water-side, and pushed as fast as they could for the ships, where, once on board, they stood down the river. Those who remained in the garrison made a virtue of necessity, and still endeavoured to defend themselves; but from this time all was despair, bravery, and confusion; and the next evening, their ammunition being almost expended, and farther defence or a retreat impracticable, they hung out a flag of truce, which the enemy taking for a surrender, they immediately scaled the walls, killing only such as made opposition. On the Soubah's entering the fort himself, he ordered the English into confinement. They were standing all together near the Black-hole prison, which appearing to the enemy a secure place, they were forced into it. The Soubah gave up the town to be plundered, reserving

to himself the effects in the fort. The next morning twenty-three only remained alive, out of one hundred and forty-six, that had been forced into the prison the night before.

MR. Holwell, one of the survivors, gives the following account of that very affecting event :

“ BY narratives made public you will only know, that of one hundred and forty-six prisoners, one hundred and twenty-three were smothered in the Black-hole prison, in the night of the 20th of June, 1756. Few survived, capable of giving any detail of the manner in which it happened; and of these, I believe, none have attempted it: For my own part, I have often sat down with a resolution, and as often relinquished the melancholy task, not only from the disturbance and affliction it raised afresh in my remembrance, but from the consideration of the impossibility of finding language capable of raising an adequate idea of the horrors of the scene I essayed to draw. But as I believe the annals of the world cannot produce an incident like it, in any degree or proportion to all the dismal circumstances attending it, and as my own health of body and peace of mind are once again, in great measure, recovered from the injuries they suffered from that fatal night, I cannot allow it to be buried in oblivion; though still conscious that, however high the colouring my retentive memory may supply, it will fall infinitely short of the horrors accompanying this scene.

“ BEFORE I conduct you into the Black-hole, it is necessary you should be acquainted with a few introductory circumstances. The Soubah and his troops were in possession of the fort before six in the evening. I had in all, three interviews with him; the last in Durbar, before seven, when he repeated his assurances to me, on the word of a soldier, that no harm should come to us; and indeed I believe his orders were only general, that we should for that night be secured, and that what followed was the result of revenge and resentment in the breasts of the lower Jemmutdaars, to whose custody we were delivered, for the number of their order killed during the siege. Be this as it may, as soon as it was dark, we were all, without distinction, directed by the guard over us, to collect ourselves into one body, and sit down quietly under the arched verander or piazza, to the west of the Black-hole prison, and the barracks to the left of the court of guard; and just over-against the windows of the Governor's easterly apartments. Besides the guard over us, another was placed at the foot of the stairs, at the south end of this verander, leading
up

up to the fourth-east bastion, to prevent any of us escaping that way. On the parade were also drawn up about four or five hundred gun-men with lighted matches.

“ AT this time the factory was in flames to the right and left of us ; to the right the armory and laboratory ; to the left the carpenter’s yard, though at this time we imagined it was the Cotta-warehouses. Various were our conjectures on this appearance ; the fire advanced with rapidity on both sides ; and it was the prevailing opinion, that they intended suffocating us between the two fires : and this notion was confirmed by the appearance, about half an hour past seven, of some officers and people with lighted torches in their hands, who went into all the apartments under the easterly curtain to the right of us, to which we apprehended they were setting fire, to expedite their scheme of burning us. On this we presently came to a resolution of rushing on the guard, seizing their scymitars, and attacking the troops upon the parade, rather than be thus tamely roasted to death. But to be satisfied of their intentions, I advanced, at the request of Messrs. Baillie, Jenks, and Revely, to see if they were really setting fire to the apartments, and found the contrary ; for in fact, as it appeared afterwards, they were only searching for a place to confine us in ; the last they examined being the barracks of the court of guard behind us.

“ HERE I must detain you a little, to do honour to the memory of a man, to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who, on this occasion, demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the Company’s smith, as well as clerk of the parish ; this man had made his escape when the Moors entered the fort, and returned just as it was dark, to tell me he had provided a boat, and would ensure my escape, if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able ; but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shewn to me, and that I was resolved to share their fate, be it what it would ; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time ; to which he gallantly replied, that “ he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me.”

“ TO

“ To myself and the world I should surely have stood excused in embracing the overture above-mentioned, could I have conceived what immediately followed. We now observed part of the guard drawn up on the parade, advance to us with the officers who had been viewing the rooms. They ordered us all to rise, and go into the barracks to the left of the court of guard; the barracks, have a large wooden platform for the soldiers to sleep on, and are open to the west by arches and a small parapet-wall, corresponding to the arches of the verander without. In we went most readily, and were pleasing ourselves with the prospect of passing a comfortable night on the platform, little dreaming of the infernal apartments in reserve for us. For we were no sooner all within the barracks, than the guard advanced to the inner arches and parapet-wall; and, with their muskets presented, ordered us to go into the room at the southermost end of the barracks, commonly called the Black-hole prison; whilst others from the court of guard, with clubs and drawn scymitars, pressed upon those of us next to them. This stroke was so sudden, so unexpected, and the throng and pressure so great upon us next the door of the Black-hole prison, there was no resisting it; but, like one agitated wave impelling another, we were obliged to give way and enter, the rest followed like a torrent; few amongst us, the soldiers excepted, having the least idea of the dimensions or nature of a place we had never seen; for if we had, we should at all events have rushed upon the guard, and been, as the lesser evil, by our own choice, cut to pieces.

“ AMONGST the first that entered, were myself, Mess. Baillie, Jenks, Cooke, T. Coles, Ensign Scot, Revely, Law, and Buchanan. I got possession of the window nearest the door, and took Mess. Coles and Scot into the window with me, they being both wounded (the first, I believe, mortally) the rest of the above-mentioned gentlemen were close round me: it was now about eight o'clock.

“ FIGURE to yourself the situation of an hundred and forty-six wretches, exhausted by continual fatigue and action, thus crammed together in a cube of about eighteen feet, in a close sultry night, in Bengal, shut up to the eastward and southward (the only quarters from whence air could reach us) by dead walls, and by a wall and door to the north; open only to the westward by two windows, strongly barred with iron, from which we could receive scarce any the least circulation of fresh air.

“ WHAT

"WHAT must ensue, appeared to me in lively and dreadful colours, the instant I cast my eyes round, and saw the size and situation of the room. Many unsuccessful attempts were made to force the door; for, having nothing but our hands to work with, and the door opening inward, all endeavours were vain and fruitless.

"OBSERVING every one giving way to the violence of passions, which I foresaw must be fatal to them, I requested silence might be preserved whilst I spoke to them; and, in the most pathetic and moving terms which occurred, "I begged and intreated, that, as they had paid a ready obedience to me in the day, they would now, for their own sakes, and the sakes of those who were dear to them, and were interested in the preservation of their lives, regard the advice I had to give them. I assured them, the return of the day would give us air and liberty; urged to them, that the only chance we had left for sustaining this misfortune, and surviving the night, was the preserving a calm mind and quiet resignation to our fate; intreating them to curb, as much as possible, every agitation of mind and body, as raving and giving a loose to their passions could answer no purpose, but that of hastening their destruction."

"THIS remonstrance produced a short interval of peace, and gave me a few minutes for reflection; though even this pause was not a little disturbed by the cries and groans of the many wounded, and more particularly of my two companions in the window. Death, attended with the most cruel train of circumstances, I plainly perceived, must prove our inevitable destiny. I had seen this in too many shapes, and accustomed myself to think on the subject too much, to be alarmed at the prospect, and indeed felt much more for my wretched companions than myself.

"AMONGST the guards posted at the windows, I observed an old Jemmut-daar near me, who seemed to carry some compassion for us in his countenance; and indeed he was the only one, of the many in his station, who discovered the least trace of humanity. I called him to me, and, in the most persuasive terms I was capable, urged him to commiserate the sufferings he was a witness to, and pressed him to endeavour to get us separated, half in one place, and half in another; and that he should in the morning receive a thousand rupees for this act of tenderness. He promised he would attempt it, and withdrew; but in a few minutes returned, and told me it
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was impossible. I then thought I had been deficient in my offer, and promised him two thousand. He withdrew a second time, but returned soon, and (with I believe much real pity and concern) told me, it was not practicable; that it could not be done but by the Soubah's orders, who was sleeping, and that no one dared awake him.

“DURING this interval, though their passions were less violent, their uneasiness increased. We had been but few minutes confined, before every one fell into a perspiration so profuse, you can form no idea of it. This, consequently, brought on a raging thirst, which still increased, in proportion as the body was drained of its moisture.

“BEFORE nine o'clock, every man's thirst grew intolerable, and respiration difficult. Our situation was much more wretched than that of so many miserable animals in an exhausted receiver; no circulation of fresh air sufficient to continue life, nor yet enough divested of its vivifying particles to put a speedy period to it.

“MY thirst grew now insupportable, and difficulty of breathing much increased; and I had not remained in this situation, I believe, ten minutes, when I was seized with a pain in my breast, and palpitation of my heart, both to the most exquisite degree. These roused and obliged me to get up again; but still the pain, palpitation, thirst, and difficulty of breathing, increased. I retained my senses notwithstanding, and had the grief to see death not so near me as I hoped; but could no longer bear the pains I suffered without attempting a relief, which I knew fresh air would and could only give me. I instantly determined to push for the window opposite to me; and, by an effort of double the strength I ever before possessed, gained the third rank at it; with one hand seized a bar, and by that means gained a second, though I think there were at least six or seven ranks between me and the window.

“IN a few moments my pain, palpitation, and difficulty of breathing, ceased; but my thirst continued intolerable. I called aloud for “Water for God's sake.” I had been concluded dead, but as soon as they heard me amongst them, they had still the respect and tenderness for me, to cry out, “Give him water, give him water;” nor would one of them at the window attempt to touch it until I had drank. But from the water I found no relief; my thirst was rather increased by it; so I determined to drink no more, but patiently wait the event; and kept my mouth moist from time to time, by sucking the perspiration out of my shirt-sleeves, and catching the drops as

they fell, like heavy rain, from my head and face : you can hardly imagine how unhappy I was if any of them escaped my mouth.

“ No Bristol water could be more soft or pleasant than what arose from perspiration.

“ By half an hour past eleven, the much greater number of those living were in an outrageous delirium, and the others quite ungovernable, few retaining any calmness, but the ranks next the windows. By what I had felt myself, I was fully sensible what those within suffered ; but had only pity to bestow upon them, not then thinking how soon I should myself become a greater object of it.

“ THEY all now found, that water, instead of relieving, rather heightened their uneasinesses ; and “ Air, Air,” was the general cry. Every insult that could be devised against the guard, all the opprobrious names and abuse that the Soubah, Monichchund, &c. could be loaded with, were used to provoke the guard to fire upon us, every man that could, rushing tumultuously towards the windows, with eager hopes of meeting the first shot. Then a general prayer to Heaven, to hasten the approach of the flames to the right and left of us, and put a period to our misery. But these failing, they whose strength and spirits were quite exhausted, laid themselves down and expired quietly upon their fellows : others, who had yet some strength and vigour left, made a last effort for the windows, and several succeeded by leaping and scrambling over the backs and heads of those in the first ranks ; and got hold of the bars, from which there was no removing them. Many to the right and left sunk with the violent pressure, and were soon suffocated ; for now a steam arose from the living and the dead, which affected us, in all its circumstances, as if we were forcibly held with our heads over a bowl full of strong volatile spirit of hartshorn, nor could the effluvia of the one be distinguished from the other ; and frequently, when I was forced, by the load upon my head and shoulders, to hold my face down, I was obliged, near as I was to the window, instantly to raise it again, to escape suffocation.

WHEN I had bore this conflict above an hour, with a train of wretched reflections, and seeing no glimpse of hope on which to found a prospect of relief, my spirits, resolution, and every sentiment of religion gave way : I found I was unable much longer to support this trial, and could not bear the dreadful thoughts of retiring into the inner part of the prison, where I had before suffered so much. Some infernal spirit, taking the advantage of
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this period, brought to my remembrance my having a small clasp penknife in my pocket; with which I determined instantly to open my arteries, and finish a system no longer to be borne. I had got it out, when Heaven interposed, and restored me to fresh spirits and resolution, with an abhorrence of the act of cowardice I was just going to commit. I exerted a-new my strength and fortitude; but the repeated trials and efforts I made to dislodge the insufferable incumbrances upon me, at last quite exhausted me, and towards two o'clock, finding I must quit the window, or sink where I was, I resolved the former, having bore infinitely more for life than the best of it is worth.

" IN the rank close behind me was an officer of one of the ships, whose name was Carey, who had behaved with much bravery during the siege, (his wife, a fine woman, though country-born, would not quit him, but accompanied him into the prison, and was one who survived.) This poor wretch had been long raving for water and air; I told him I was determined to give up life, and recommended his gaining my situation. On my quitting, he made a fruitless attempt to get my place; but the Dutch serjeant, who sat on my shoulder, supplanted him.

" POOR Carey expressed his thankfulness, and said, he would give up life too; but it was with the utmost labour we forced our way from the window, (several in the inner ranks appearing to me dead standing). He laid himself down to die; and his death, I believe, was very sudden, for he was a short, full, sanguine man: his strength was great, and, I imagine, had he not retired with me, I should never have been able to have forced my way.

" I WAS at this time sensible of no pain, and little uneasiness: I can give you no better idea of my situation, than by repeating my simile of the bowl of spirit of hartshorn. I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the reverend Mr. Jervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, hand in hand, near the southermost wall of the prison.

" WHEN I had lain there some little time, I still had reflection enough to suffer some uneasiness, in the thought that I should be trampled upon, when dead, as I myself had done on others. With some difficulty I raised myself, and gained the platform a second time, where I presently lost all sensation; the last trace of sensibility that I have been able to recollect after my lying down, was my fast being uneasy about my waist, which I untied and threw from me.

“ IN my own escape from absolute death, the hand of Heaven was manifestly exerted: the manner take as follows:—When the day broke, and the gentlemen found that no intreaties could prevail to get the door opened, it occurred to one of them (I think to Mr. Secretary Cooke) to make a search for me, in hopes I might have influence enough to gain a release from this scene of misery. Accordingly Messrs. Lushington and Walcot undertook the search, and by my shirt discovered me under the dead upon the platform. They took me from thence; and, imagining I had some signs of life, brought me toward the window I had first possession of.

“ AT this juncture the Soubah, who had received an account of the havock death had made amongst us, sent one of his Jemnautdaars to enquire if the Chief survived. They shewed me to him; told him I had appearance of life remaining, and believed I might recover if the door was opened very soon. This answer being returned to the Soubah, an order came immediately for our release, it being then near six in the morning.

“ THE fresh air at the window soon brought me to life; and a few minutes after the departure of the Jemnautdaar, I was restored to my sight and senses. But oh! Sir, what words shall I adopt, to tell you the whole that my soul suffered at reviewing the dreadful destruction round me? I will not attempt it; and, indeed, tears (a tribute I believe I shall ever pay to the remembrance of this scene, and to the memory of those brave and valuable men) stop my pen.

“ BEING brought into his presence, he soon observed the wretched plight I was in, and ordered a large folio volume, which lay on a heap of plunder, to be brought for me to sit on. I endeavoured two or three times to speak, but my tongue was dry and without motion. He ordered me water. As soon as I got my speech, I began to recount the dismal catastrophe of my miserable companions; but he stopt me short, with telling me, he was well informed of great treasure being buried or secreted in the fort, and that I was privy to it, and if I expected favour, must discover it.

“ I URGED every thing I could to convince him there was no truth in the information; or that if any such thing had been done, it was without my knowledge. I reminded him of his repeated assurances to me the day before; but he resumed the subject of the treasure, and all I could say seemed to gain no credit with him. I was ordered prisoner under Mhir Muddon, general of the household troops, and, with three gentlemen selected to be my companions, sent the same day (21st of June) to the camp, and soon loaded with fetters; and after enduring much pain and ill treatment, we arrived at Muxadabad,

adabad, the capital of Bengal, on the 7th of July, and were deposited in an open stable, not far from the Soubah's palace, under a guard of Moors and Gentoos, where we were to remain till the Soubah returned to the city.

"DURING our residence here, we experienced every act of humanity and friendship from Monf. Law and Mynheer Vernet, the French and Dutch Chiefs of Cossimbuzar, who left no means uneffayed to procure our release. Our provisions were regularly sent us from the Dutch Tankfal in Coriemabad; and we were daily visited by Messrs. Rofs and Ekstone, the Chief and second there; and, indeed, received such instances of commiseration and affection from Mynheer Rofs, as will ever claim my most grateful remembrance.

"THE whole body of Armenian merchants too, were most kind and friendly to us; particularly Aga Manual Satoor. We were not a little indebted to the obliging good-natured behaviour of Messrs. Hastings and Chambers, who gave us as much of their company as they could. They had obtained their liberty by the French and Dutch Chiefs becoming bail for their appearance. This security was often tendered for us, but without effect.

"THE 11th of July the Soubah arrived, and with him Bundoo Sing, to whose house we were removed that afternoon, in a hackery; for I was not able to put my foot to the ground. Here we were confirmed in a report which had before reached us, that the Soubah, on his return to Houghly, made enquiry for us when he released Messrs. Watts and Collet, &c. with intention to release us also; and, that he had expressed some resentment at Mhir Muddon, for having so hastily sent us up to Muxadabad. This proved a very pleasing piece of intelligence to us, and gave us reason to hope the issue would be more favourable to us than we expected.

"THOUGH we were here lodged in an open Bungulo only, yet we found ourselves relieved from the crowd of people which had stifled us at the stable, and once more breathed the fresh air. We were treated with much kindness and respect by Bundoo Sing, who generally passed some time or other of the day with us, and gave us hopes of being soon released.

"THE 15th we were conducted in a hackery to the Kella, in order to have an audience of the Soubah, and know our fate. We were kept above an hour in the sun, opposite the gate: whilst here, we saw several of his ministers brought out disgraced, in the custody of Sootapurdars, and dismissed from their employs, who, but a few minutes before, we had seen enter the Kella in the utmost pomp and magnificence.

"WE received notice we could have no admittance to the Soubah's presence

fence that day. We were returned to our former place of confinement, and spent another night in our miserable lodging. Near five the next morning I was waked with the notice, that the Soubah would presently pass by to his palace at Mooteejeel. We roused, and desired the guard would keep the view clear for us. When the Soubah came in sight, we made him the usual salaam; and when he came abreast of us, he ordered his litter to stop, and us to be called to him. We advanced; and I addressed him in a short speech, setting forth our sufferings, and petitioned for our liberty. The wretched spectacle we made must, I think, have made an impression on a breast the most brutal; and, if he was capable of pity or contrition, his heart felt it then. I think it appeared, in spite of him, in his countenance. He gave me no reply, but ordered a Sootapurdar and Chabdaar immediately to see our irons cut off, and to conduct us wherever we chose to go, and to take care we received no trouble nor insult; and having repeated this order distinctly, directed his retinue to go on. As soon as our legs were free, we took boat, and proceeded to the Tankfal, where we were received and entertained with real joy and humanity."

IN October, 1757, the Nabob marched against his relation, the Nabob of Purhuna. When the two armies drew near each other, the young Nabob was falsely informed, that Surajah Dowla was advanced on an eminence to reconnoitre. Animated at the approach of his rival, and hoping at once to put an end to the war, he hastened to meet him, at the head of a few troops, that chanced to be advanced beyond the rest of his army; but, instead of Surajah Dowla, it proved to be Meer Jaffier and Dus Mahumud Caun, who were very advantageously posted. Still ignorant of his mistake, he rushed forward with great bravery, crying out, "It is the Soubah I seek." Meer Jaffier, desirous to save his life, went so far as to call out to him, that the Soubah was not there; but when he still pressed on, unwilling, by giving way, to expose himself to the Soubah's resentment, he was necessitated, in self-defence, to make a vigorous resistance, and in the conflict the Nabob received his death from a musket-ball. By this victory, Surajah Dowla arrived at the greatest height of power a Soubah of Bengal could attain to. He was in the prime of his youth; confirmed from Dehli; the provinces subdued; no rival left; a vast army in his pay; and a full treasury. Flushed with his grandeur, he governed with all the insolence of unbridled power, dreaded by all, and beloved by none.

THE remains of our unfortunate colony were now laying on board a few defence-

less ships at Fulta, the most unwholesome spot in the country, about twenty miles below Calcutta, and destitute of the common necessities of life: but, by the assistance of the French and Dutch, to whose humanity they were much indebted on this occasion, and partly by the assistance of the natives, who, both from interest and attachment, privately supplied them with all kinds of provisions, they supported the horror of their situation till August, when they received a reinforcement of two hundred and forty men from Fort St. George, under the command of Major Kilpatrick, with money and warlike stores. But their greatest misery was yet to come; for now the sickly season came on, and, what with bad air, bad weather, confinement on board ships, and want of proper refreshments, such a mortality ensued, as swept off almost all the military, and many of the inhabitants. They continued in this situation till the arrival of Admiral Watson, in the month of December, with the King's squadron, consisting of the Kent, Salisbury, and Tyger, with two frigates, and two Indiamen, having on board six hundred Europeans, and a thousand Seapoys, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Robert Clive, followed by the Cumberland and another Indiaman, with one hundred Europeans, and four hundred Seapoys, but which were not yet arrived; a force that could give little hopes of success, but from the great qualities of the gentlemen that commanded it. Admiral Watson was an officer of great bravery, disinterestedness, and public spirit; Colonel Clive was a gentleman, who had already eminently distinguished himself in the war on the coast of Coromandel; where, by a long train of successes, against constant superior numbers of the French, he had restored the English affairs, at a time when they were thought desperate: he had lately commanded the land forces on the successful expedition against Angria; and was now pitched on as the properest person to restore their affairs in Bengal.

It may appear matter of wonder why the Soubah permitted us to continue so quietly at Fulta, till we were become formidable to him; which I can only account for from his mean opinion of us, as he had been frequently heard to say, he did not imagine there were ten thousand men in all Frenghistan, meaning Europe, and had no idea of our attempting to return by force, but supposed that we staid at Fulta, only till the season would permit our going out of the river. And, indeed, it is possible, that, now his anger was subsided, he might see the folly he had committed, and might wish our return on his own terms; which were, to live under his government, without laws or fortifications of our own, and to carry on our trade like the Armenians and his own subjects.

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Whatever the motive was, it was happy for us, and gave us time to prepare every thing to assist the squadron in going up the river; and accordingly, December 27, 1756, the troops were embarked, and the fleet stood up; on the twenty-ninth they were re-landed, for the attack of Budje Boodjee, a place of such strength, that, had they understood the art of defence, might have cost us much trouble. After a most fatiguing march, from five in the evening till seven next morning, we came in sight of the place, while, at the same time, the fleet was got abreast, and began to fire. Colonel Clive ordered the grenadiers, volunteers, and all the Seapoys, to go as near as they could, under cover, and be ready for an assault as soon as a breach should be made, whilst the rest of the army halted in a hollow on the plain, in order to intercept the garrison, if they attempted to retreat. While we were in this situation, and ignorant of any other enemy than those in the place, we were alarmed at the sight of some horse in our rear; and before we had time to get out of this unlucky situation, we found ourselves almost surrounded by the enemy, who had got possession of the eminences, and began to fire on us. Such a sudden surprise might have endangered our little army, had not the Colonel acted with great presence of mind. He immediately detached platoons wherever the enemy appeared most formidable; but they, presumptuous from their triumph over us at Calcutta, stood with great boldness, and killed and wounded eight men of the first platoon that advanced; but now we brought a field-piece to bear upon them, which kept them at a greater distance; and the detachment that had been made for the assault of the fort, being returned on hearing the firing, and having joined us, we marched into the open plain, and discovered our enemy to be Monichhund, the Soubah's Governor of Calcutta, who was come to throw himself into the place, at the head of three thousand horse and foot; but being stunned with the firing of the King's ships, he thought his assistance would be fruitless, and was returning, when he came unexpectedly upon us, and attacked us with great bravery.

In this skirmish we had twenty-one Europeans killed and wounded, and several Seapoys. Monichhund received a shot through his turban, lost his second in command, and about fifty of his men, and was so intimidated, by the reception he met with, that, without making any stay at Calcutta, he hastened away to his master, to assure him, that these were not the same kind of Englishmen he had before met with. The ships soon silenced the fort; and, as our little army was not sufficient to surround the place, the garrison retreated,

retreated, unknown to us; and, as the troops had been very much fatigued, the Colonel proposed to defer the assault till day-break; but some seamen advancing just at the close of the evening very near, and receiving no fire, they gave a huzza, when suddenly the whole army, without waiting for orders or officers, rushed forward over the bridge, which the enemy had neglected to break down, and entered at the breach made by the ships; and in this confusion Captain Dougal Campbell, pressing forward to restrain the men, was, by mistake, killed by our own people, to the great concern of the whole army, as he was a brave and capable officer, and a worthy, generous man.

JANUARY 2, 1757, the troops re-embarked, and January 3, at day-break, were again landed in sight of Calcutta, which the enemy abandoned almost as soon as our ships came abreast of it, firing only the guns that were ready loaded, which did some execution on the Tyger; and then Mr. Watson landed the King's troops, and took possession of the fort. The inhabitants, in the joy of returning to their settlements, seemed to forget they were returned to empty houses, and universal bankruptcy.

THE conduct of political affairs was now vested in a select Committee and the Colonel; the Admiral being pleased to declare, they were the best judges of the Company's interest, and that he was ready to execute whatever they thought most conducive to it. The Committee left the correspondence with the Soubah to the Colonel, whom we are henceforward to consider as chief negociator of all affairs with the government.

AN expedition was sent against Houghly, under the conduct of Major Kilpatrick, with the King's troops, volunteers, grenadiers, and two companies of seapoys, supported by the Bridgewater, and manned boats of the squadron. The enemy were very numerous, having six thousand men in the fort, and in an adjacent camp. They stood the assault, which was very bloody to them, with little loss on our side. The fort and city were plundered, and as many of the magnificent houses destroyed, as the short time would permit.

THE account given of us by the Houghly fugitives and Monichchund, had made such an impression on him, that he would gladly have consented to our return on our former footing; but it hurt his pride, to think of having satisfaction forced from him by merchants: however, he continued his march, determined to fight, or negotiate, as opportunity gave him advantage. The probability of a war with France, which would require our whole force on the

coast of Coromandel, the uncertainty of an action, especially if the French should join him; but, above all, a great part of our force not being yet arrived, inclined us to wish for honourable peace. At all events, every day gained was an advantage; we were destitute of draught and carriage oxen, and many other things absolutely necessary, before we could take the field. A camp was formed on a plain about two miles to the northward of Calcutta, which was made as strong as the situation and time would permit; and the Soubah advancing, the troops sent to Houghly rejoined us, and our whole force now amounted to four hundred battalion, one hundred and twenty train, and one thousand four hundred seapoys; for the Cumberland was not yet arrived.

COLONEL Clive, on his first arrival, had wrote the Soubah, "That Admiral Watson, commander of the King's invincible ships; and himself, a soldier, whose conquests in Decan might have reached his ears; were come to revenge the injuries he had done the English Company; that it would better become him to shew his love of justice, by making them ample satisfaction for all their losses, than expose his country to be the seat of war." Such a haughty stile astonished him; he would not deign to answer it, but permitted Jagutseat, and others of the great men, who had letters addressed to them to the same purpose, to answer them, and directed them to sound our dispositions and expectations; and Jagutseat's agent in camp wrote, by his orders, to desire the Colonel would send a person, in whom he could confide, to treat with him; whose coming he should wait at a place called Nabob Gunge, twenty miles from our camp; but the very same day his van appeared, passing our army, as if on their way to Calcutta. This had so much the appearance of an intended insult or deceit, that the Colonel marched out, at the head of four hundred Europeans, and one thousand seapoys, with two field-pieces; and toward the close of the evening, a cannonading ensued; but the enemy was so advantageously posted, that the effect was trifling on either side, and night approaching, the Colonel returned to camp. The Soubah, pretending to be ignorant of what had passed, sent a messenger to conduct to him whoever the Colonel should think fit to send; Mess. Walsh and Scrafton were appointed; and in the mean time, under cover of this negociation, the Soubah himself, with his whole army, passed in sight of us, and encamped between our army and the town; which he ridiculously thought a master-piece of policy, on a false notion, that Calcutta,

cutta, thus deprived of relief, must fall into his hands, and our army would be then at his mercy. The two gentlemen were much surprized to find, that the Soubah, instead of waiting at the place appointed, was already with his army in the suburbs of Calcutta. February 4, 1757, at seven in the evening, the Soubah gave them audience in Omichund's garden, where he affected to appear in great state, attended by the best-looking men amongst his officers, hoping to intimidate them by so warlike an assembly. After the first compliments, they were desired to retire, and acquaint his ministers with their proposals. Prior to any accommodation, they insisted on the Soubah's returning to the place from which he first offered to treat; but finding the minister shuffled with them, they desired a private conference with the Soubah: but he judging from his own treacherous disposition, was so firmly persuaded that they had private arms about them, and wanted to assassinate him, that he could by no means be brought to trust himself alone with them; so that, finding the Soubah only intended to amuse them, they pretended to be satisfied, and desired to depart. The Soubah dismissed them, telling them he expected their return in the morning, with full powers to finish every thing; and desired, before they quitted the camp, they would go to the tent of Jagutseat's agent, who had something to communicate to them that would be very agreeable to the Colonel.

THE Soubah had given orders to detain them there, and proposed to assault the fort the next day; but suspecting his design, they put out their lights, pushed forward, and soon gained the camp. On reporting their embassy to the Colonel, he determined to attack the enemy at day-break; a resolution that may appear rash to many, for the Soubah's army consisted of at least eighteen thousand horse, and sixty thousand foot, with forty pieces of heavy cannon; but the Colonel considered only the necessity of the attempt, and not the danger; for all our black camp followers had disappeared at the approach of the Soubah's army, and we must very soon have been distressed for provisions. To our force, which I have already mentioned, was added six hundred sailors from the squadron: and the plan of operations was, to nail up the cannon, and push at the head quarters. February 5, we marched at about three in the morning, and our project so far succeeded, that we came upon them unexpectedly; but, when the day appeared, there came on so thick a fog, that it was impossible to discover any object at ten yards distance; and this was the Soubah's preservation; for the fog clearing

ing up for a few minutes, between seven and eight, we found ourselves at a great distance from the head quarters, and exposed to the enemy's artillery, which did great execution amongst us. The country too was full of holes and ditches, which the enemy had lined with musquetry, which did us some mischief; but from this immense army we had no regular attack, except from a large body of Persian horse, who received a general volley from the whole battalion, which obliged them to face about with the loss of near half their number. Thus finding himself disappointed in his principal object, the Colonel ordered the march towards Calcutta.

THE enemy now pressed on our rear, and took two of our field-pieces, one of which had the carriage broke by the badness of the roads, and we had some men picked off from behind cover. At eleven o'clock we reached the fort, and found our whole loss of killed and wounded was about an hundred and twenty soldiers and sailors, and an hundred seapoys; a considerable diminution of our small force! But the enemy suffered much more, having lost six or seven hundred men, killed and wounded, with two general officers, besides a vast number of oxen, camels, horses and elephants: our army marched out again in the evening to their former camp, the route being within a mile of the Soubah's head quarters, though covered with a wood; but the morning's alarm had struck such a terror into them, that, far from attacking us, they were ready for confused flight, with which we were not at that time acquainted. The greatest advantage we reaped from this action, was in the effect it had upon the Soubah, who was not only intimidated by the boldness of the attempt, but struck with his own imprudence, in having exposed himself to be attacked at such a disadvantage. To add to his uneasiness, he thought he discovered some appearance of disaffection in some of his principal officers, particularly in Meer Jaffier, whose conduct in this affair had been very mysterious. The Soubah's army passed that night under arms, in continual apprehension of being attacked; and early in the morning he sent a messenger to enquire the cause of our behaviour, and to renew the treaty; and, under cover of this negociation, he thought himself very happy in quitting the neighbourhood of Calcutta, and encamping on a plain within sight of our army. Had he continued there but one day longer, the Colonel intended to have had a battery on Dum Dumma bridge, which would have commanded the lake, and put his army entirely at our mercy. But now, only sensible of our own loss, and ignorant of the effect
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it had on the enemy, we gladly renewed the treaty, which in two days was signed by both parties.

ARTICLES signed and sealed by his Excellency Surajah Dowla, Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, dated February 9, 1757.

I. **W**HATEVER rights and privileges the King has granted the English Company in their Phirmaunds, and Husbulhookums, shall be acknowledged, and stand good; whatever villages have been given to the Company by the Phirmaunds, notwithstanding they have been with-held by former Soubahs, shall be given up to them; nor shall the Zemindars oppose their taking possession of those villages.—Agreed to.

II. ALL goods passing and repassing through the country, by land or by water, with English dustucks, shall be exempted from any tax, fee, or imposition, of the Gantwattas, Choqueedars, Zemindars, or others.—Agreed to.

III. ALL the Company's factories seized by the Soubah, shall be returned; all the money, goods, and effects, belonging to the Company, their servants and tenants, which have been seized and taken by the Soubah, shall be restored; and what has been plundered by the people, made good by the payment of such a sum of money, as his justice shall think reasonable.—I will restore only what has been accounted for in the government books.

IV. THE Company shall be allowed to fortify Calcutta, in such manner as they shall think proper, without hindrance or obstruction.—Agreed to.

V. AND to coin siccas, both of gold and silver, of equal fineness with those of Muxadavad, which shall pass current through the provinces.—Agreed to.

THEN followed the Soubah's seal; and having sworn to fulfil the same, Meer Jaffier and Roydullub, two of his general officers, under-signed it as securities.

THE Soubah then sent the usual present to the Governor, Admiral, and Colonel, consisting each of an elephant dress, and head-jewel; which were received by the Governor and Colonel, as representatives of the Company. Mr. Watson, as representative of the King, refused to accept the present; but received the Soubah's officers who brought it in a very polite manner on board the Kent, and displayed to them his lower tier of thirty-two pounds, of which they made a dreadful report to their master; who, not

conceiving any great liking to his new friends, marched with all haste to the capital, happily for his subjects, somewhat humbled by his late defeat. Mr. Watts being well versed in the country language, and in their politics and customs, accompanied the Soubah, to attend the fulfilling of the treaty.

THE Afghuans, mountaineers who possess Candahar and the mountains that divide Persia from Hindostan, encouraged by the success of former invaders, entered the country with so powerful an army, commanded by an old officer of the Shah's, named Abdalla Caun, that the court of Dehli, unable to resist, submitted to the conqueror; and news now came, that he intended a visit to the eastern provinces. This alarmed the Soubah, who acquainted the Colonel with it, and dropped some hints of wanting his assistance. The Colonel on the first advices, crossed the Ganges, which was equally convenient either to march to Chandernagore, or to the Soubah.

MR. Watts found, that the French had, by the prevailing power of corruption, won over to their interest several courtiers, who were most in the Soubah's confidence; and had certain information, that the Soubah had wrote to Monf. Buffey, who commanded a large army in the Decan, that he might be assured he would never fulfil the treaty, but would infallibly join the French, and fall on us, whenever our squadron and forces left the river; that the only way to prevent it, was, to attack the French, while he was influenced by his fears of the Afghuans. Mr. Watts's judgment will hereafter appear to be well founded, as the Soubah had already sent a large body of troops to assist the French; had returned the two lacks of rupees taken from them the year before; and had entered into some private negotiation with the French governor, wherein he promised him the government of Houghly, a mint, and other advantages. His espousing their cause so warmly, made us still cautious of provoking him too far; but Mr. Watts made so artful an use of his fears of the Afghuans, observing to him that we could never think of leaving our settlement to be attacked by the French, in case he required our assistance against them, that, partly by such arguments, and, taught by the French the power of money at the Soubah's court, partly by a handsome present of money to his first secretary, he produced the following letter from him to Mr. Watson:

“ YOUR agreeable letter, acknowledging the receipt of mine, which you tell me has dispelled your anxiety; that you had hitherto forbore attacking the French, out of regard to me; that you had prepared reasonable articles; had

had sent for them, and told them to sign them; that they gave for answer, if any future commander should disapprove them, they had not power to over-rule him; that therefore peace had not taken place, with other disagreeable circumstances: I have received, and I have well considered it. If it be true, that one Frenchman does not approve, and abide by a treaty entered into by another, no confidence is to be placed in them. The reason of my forbidding war in my country is, I look on the French as my own subjects, because they have, in this affair, implored my protection; for which reason I wrote to you to make peace with them, or else I had neither pleaded for them, nor protected them; but you are a generous and wise man, and well know, if an enemy comes to you with a clear heart, to implore your mercy, his life should be granted to him; that is, if you think him pure of heart; but, if you mistrust his sincerity, ACT ACCORDING TO THE TIME AND OCCASION."

THIS letter may be very well understood, as a consent to our attacking the French, though it certainly was never meant as such; for he had not only his colours flying, and a body of men at Chandernagore, but had ten thousand men marching towards us, under the command of Roydullub, who were advanced as far as Placis, near thirty miles from the capital; another of four or five thousand still nearer, under the command of Monichchund: but another well-applied bribe to Nuncomar, the governor of Houghly, removed all obstacles; for it persuaded him to withdraw the troops under his command from Chandernagore, and to write the Soubah, "That as the French were by no means able to resist the English, he had therefore ordered his troops to Houghly, lest his victorious colours should be involved in their disgrace." This the Soubah approved of, and wrote to Roydullub and Monichchund to proceed no farther. Thus, floating between his fears and wishes, he shamefully abandoned those whom he was bound, both for his honour and interest, to support; and now, no farther obstacle remaining, Colonel Clive, who was advanced almost to the limits of Chandernagore, as if on his way to join the Soubah, immediately began the siege.

THE fort was a regular square, mounting twelve twenty-four pounders on each bastion, with several cannon mounted *en barbette*; a fine ravelin before the gate to the river-side; the ditch imperfect; no glacis; and but a small esplanade of about two hundred and fifty yards; and had, of soldiers, sailors, and

and other Europeans, near six hundred men in garrison, besides three hundred good seapoys. It was invested on the 13th of March; the 14th the French abandoned their outworks; and from that time to the 22d, were mostly employed in erecting two batteries, which were then ready. On the 23d, Mr. Watson, joined by Mr. Pocock, (who, on his ship's arrival at Balasore, hearing what was going forward, to partake of the glory of the action, came up in a light boat, and hoisted his flag on board the Tyger) passed the ships the French had sunk, owing to their neglect, in sinking them so wide as to leave a passage between them, and at seven in the morning the ships came a-breast of the fort, and the land batteries were opened.

FOR two hours it was as bloody an engagement as any during the whole war. The Kent lay exposed to a terrible fire from the flank of the inland bastion, by the tide falling, and preventing her coming to her proper station. In this attack, Captain Speke, the Admiral's captain, whose wife counsels and enterprising spirit contributed much to the great success of the little squadron in India, had part of his leg carried away by the same ball that unfortunately killed his son. Mr. Perrault, first lieutenant, and several other officers, were killed. The Tyger also suffered very considerably in men and officers, and Mr. Pocock himself received a slight wound. But the French, having several guns dismounted, their parapet almost demolished by the fire of the ships; their whole curtain enfiled by the fire of our musquetry from the tops of the houses of the town; and a breach nearly made; capitulated, and had favourable terms granted them. The army suffered but very little, but the squadron had above an hundred and forty killed and wounded. The goods found in the warehouses were sold for the benefit of the army and navy, and produced about ten lacks of rupees.

THE squadron returned to Calcutta, but the army encamped at the back of Chandernagore. Surajah Dowla was in great agitation of mind during the siege, sometimes threatening Mr. Watts, and sometimes caressing him, conformable to the news of the day; but, when the fatal event of the surrender of the place was communicated to him by a letter from the Colonel, wherein he ascribed his successes to the favour of Heaven and his excellency's auspices, under which his arms had been so fortunate; he affected to conceal his chagrin in outward demonstration of joy, and wrote the Colonel the most pompous congratulations upon the occasion. To complete his confusion, he now received the news of the Afghuans return to their own country,

try, having carried away almost as great a treasure as Shah Nadir; and also of Monf. Buffey's being obliged to return to quiet some troubles that had broke out in the Decan; so that looking on us as his only enemies, and sensible of his folly in abandoning the French to us, he determined to protect the small remainder of them, which was about an hundred men, collected together at Cossimbuzar, under the command of Monf. Laws, and to dissemble his resentment, till the return of our squadron and forces to the Coast, gave him an opportunity to fall on us again, and extirpate us for ever. But, as the whole tenor of his conduct strongly indicated, that he had views of farther service from this body of French, Mr. Watfon wrote him, "That if he continued to protect the King's enemies, he would light up a flame in his country, that all the waters of the Ganges should not quench." Thus intimidated, he obliged the French to quit the province, and to retire to Patna, where he kept them in reserve against a long-wished moment, when the return of our force to the Coast should leave us exposed to his revenge. From the time he heard that Chandernagore was taken, he never enjoyed a moment's peace of mind. His imagination was ever haunted by dreadful notions of the King's ships, which he was told, and was idle enough to believe, could be brought up the Ganges, close to his capital; and, to prevent it, he dammed up the mouth of the Cossimbuzar river. To increase his apprehensions, our army still continued in camp near Houghly. These circumstances, together with the mortification of refunding the plunder of Calcutta, and the repeated demands of the French, would sometimes make his anger burst out from under the veil of dissimulation, in which he endeavoured to cover it. In one of these transports, he determined to break with us, and ordered Meer Jaffier, with a large body of troops, to join those at Placis, promising him a reward of ten lacks of rupees the day he returned victorious; and sent for Mr. Laws to come down immediately from Patna, for that he was determined to fall on us; and turned our Vacqueel out of the Durbar. But these fits of valour were of short duration, his fears again prevailed; the march of the troops was countermanded; the Vacqueel honoured with a dress; Mr. Watts caressed, and his revenge smothered, till it might blaze forth with more security. But he had now given such strong indications of his resolution never to forgive us, that Colonel Clive, necessitated by these repeated proofs of the Soubah's perfidious intentions, recommended to Mr. Watts the forming of a party to join us, in case things

should come to extremes, which many circumstances concurred to facilitate. The Soubah, by the severity and capriciousness of his temper, had made himself many secret enemies, both in his court and army. The old ministers of his predecessors were obliged to give way to new favourites, chosen from the dregs of the people, and there was hardly one of them but had, in his starts of passion, been threatened with death; while mutual mistrust prevented their taking any measures for their preservation. At last one of them, named Coda Yar Caun Laitte, thinking there was more confidence to be placed in us than in his own countrymen, sent a message to Mr. Watts, that he had something of great importance to communicate to him, and wished to see him. Mr. Watts was too closely watched by the Soubah's spies to venture himself, but sent one Omichund to him, who was an agent under him. To him he opened his mind freely, acquainting him with his own danger; assured him the Soubah was firmly bent on extirpating us, and made a tender of his services; Omichund confirmed him in his fears of the Soubah, and gave him hopes his proposals would be accepted. A few days after, Mr. Watts was agreeably surprised to receive proposals of the like nature from Meer Jaffier, a general of the first rank, and nearly related to the Soubah, by his marriage with Allyvherde Caun's sister. I have before mentioned, that this gentleman's mysterious conduct in the last battle, where he kept himself at a distance, waiting to see what issue the affair was likely to have, had made the Soubah suspicious of him, as well as of Roydullub, for his close connection with him.

THE uneven temper of the Soubah could never long retain its disguise; for though he affected an exaggerated friendship for those he intended to destroy, yet his real sentiments would now and then escape him; and he had been frequently heard to say, he would have the heads of them both. This had been told them, and sufficiently warned them to provide for their safety; so that Meer Jaffier and Roydullub, both judged the English protection would be a port of safety to them. They sent a man privately to Mr. Watts, to let him know how they stood affected, and to assure him, that Surajah Dowla was determined never to forgive the English the disgrace of his late defeat, and waited only a proper opportunity to fall on them again, and concluded with a hint that many of the principal officers of the army, whose lives were in continual jeopardy, from the cruel and capricious temper of the Soubah, had determined to depose him; that if the English would support

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Meer Jaffier in his views on the Soubahship, he would readily make any concessions that might be deemed necessary, to indemnify the English for the losses they had sustained, and to render their trade advantageous to them. These proposals were received with great satisfaction; and Mr. Watts acquainted the Colonel, and the gentlemen below, with it, who immediately empowered him to treat, and settle the plan of operations with Meer Jaffier. Mr. Watts had an interview with Meer Jaffier, who represented to him, that nothing could be done while the Nabob's army was in the field, as it separated him from the heads of his party; and hindered him from concerting proper measures with him. It was agreed, therefore, to lull the Soubah into a firm persuasion of our peaceable intentions, and to try, by dissimulation, to remove this obstacle. For this purpose, the Colonel ordered the army into quarters, and wrote the Soubah, "That while the armies continued in the field, their enemies would be endeavouring to interrupt that perfect harmony and friendship which subsisted between them; that he had therefore put his army into quarters; and, though he had no reason to doubt his Excellency's strict adherence to, and full compliance with all the articles of the treaty, yet, nevertheless, he wished he would disappoint those hopes their mutual enemies entertained, by withdrawing his army from Placis, and that he would hasten the payment of the money, and other articles of the treaty."

THE Soubah was glad to be freed from the uneasiness our army gave him, by being in the field, thanked the Colonel for this proof of his friendship, and promised to put his troops into quarters: but these words were too inconsonant to his schemes, to be followed by actions; for he still continued his army encamped, and prolonged, to the utmost, the execution of the treaty. By the happy use of an unexpected event, this obstacle was removed, and the Soubah became the dupe of his own projects.

THE Mharattas, hearing of the troubles in Bengal, and thinking it a proper opportunity to annex so rich a province to their already too extensive empire, wrote to the Governor of Calcutta the following letter:

Ballajerow Seeboo Bajeroy, Vizir to Ram Rajah, brother to Rajah Schoo, from Hyderabad, to Roger Drake, Governor of Calcutta.

"I HAVE a long time wished for a meeting with you, which the great distance has prevented. Every thing prospers with me; and it is my wish that success attend you, with long life and happiness. Your misfortunes have been

related to me by Ragooje, son to Janoogee. Make yourself easy, and be my friend; send me your proposals, such as you imagine may be for the best; and, with the Divine assistance, Sumseer Caun Bhadre, and Ragoo Baboo, son to Bajorey, shall enter Bengal with a hundred and twenty thousand horse; besides, there are other forces shall be ready at your call, if you have need of them, having wrote to Meu Caun to proceed to you, whenever you shall write to him to that effect. Whatever merchandize and riches you have lost in Bengal, the double of its value shall be restored by me. Do not, on any account, make peace with the Nabob. In a few days my forces shall enter Bengal, and the trade of the province shall be entirely yours. Govinroy will relate to you further particulars: to him communicate what force you have need of, and due regard shall be paid to your directions. The French shall not remain in Bengal: your forces shall keep them out by sea, mine by land."

THE person mentioned in the letter had a private conference with Colonel Clive, wherein he confirmed the contents. The Colonel's first reflection was, that this might possibly be an invention of the Soubah to found his intentions; when suddenly, with that quickness of thought by which he was distinguished on all emergencies, he determined to turn the stratagem on the head of the inventor, by sending the letter to the Soubah himself; which, if suspicions were just, would deceive the Soubah into a firm persuasion that we had no jealousy of his designs; or, if the letter was real, would awe him by the fear of so powerful an alliance. Mr. Scrafton was accordingly dispatched with these proposals, accompanied by a letter from the Colonel; in which he wrote him, "That, notwithstanding he had put the army into quarters, and given every proof his Excellency could require of his firm intentions to preserve the peace, he was not yet so happy as to gain his Excellency's confidence, who still kept a large army encamped at Placis, which seemed to hang like an impending storm over our heads; kept the provinces alarmed, and prevented the merchants from resorting to Calcutta. That he had but one proof more to give him of his sincerity, which the bearer would acquaint him with. If that would not suffice, he should think himself for ever banished from his confidence and friendship."

THE Soubah, who had been informed by his spies of the interview between the Colonel and the Mharatta agent, and of his letter being on the way, was impatient to know the contents. Mr. Watts introduced Mr. Scrafton to the Soubah, and they found him accompanied by Naranfing, the head spy, Monichund,

nichchund, and Jagutsear. The Soubah affected to be charmed with the Colonel's letter, which was enforced by every argument suitable to the occasion; he expressed some doubt of the Colonel's sincerity, but found himself obliged to put on the appearance of conviction, when the Mharatta's letter was delivered to him. Having read it, he broke forth into loud acclamations to the Colonel's praise; and, thinking now to deceive us by this feigned confidence, said, he would order his army into quarters; and did not doubt but our fleet and army would quit the country as soon as the season would permit; and desired we would go to Rajah Mohanloll, his prime minister, to whom he had given orders to finish our affairs; and immediately ordered the troops into the city.

THE minister acted the same part as his master; but, like an old practitioner in ministerial arts, proposed, that the Colonel should send up a discharge in full of all sums stipulated by the treaty, though nothing was yet determined with respect to the thirty-eight villages*, and very little progress made in the rest of the treaty; and that by the time it arrived, the whole should be discharged. The Soubah returned the Colonel a favourable answer, and told the gentleman who carried the letter, that he expected him back in a week with the desired discharge, and then he would reward him with great presents and honours.

EVERY thing was now in a fair way; the Placis army broken up and put into quarters; and Meer Jaffier, after having consulted with Roydullub, and the head of his party, concluded the following treaty with Mr. Watts, and promised to join us as soon the armies drew near each other. We, on our parts, promised, by the blessing of God on our arms, to make him Soubah of the three provinces.

Treaty executed by Meer Jaffier Caun Bahader.

I SWEAR by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide the terms of this treaty whilst I have life †.

Treaty made with Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, and the Counsellors, Mr. Drake and Mr. Watts.

ART. I. WHATEVER articles were agreed upon in the time of peace, with the Nabob Surajah Dowla, I agree to comply with.

* See the first article of the treaty, page 53.

† These words were written in his own hand, at the beginning of the treaty, and were underwritten by him.

II. THE enemies of the English are my enemies, whether they be Indians or Europeans.

III. ALL the effects and factories belonging to the French in the province of Bengal, the paradise of nations, and Bahar, and Orissa, shall remain in the possession of the English, nor will I ever allow them any more to settle in the three provinces.

IV. IN consideration of the losses which the English Company have sustained by the capture and plunder of Calcutta by the Nabob, and the charges occasioned by maintenance of the forces, I will give them one crore of rupees.

V. FOR the effects plundered from the English inhabitants at Calcutta, I agree to give fifty lacks of rupees.

VI. FOR the effects plundered from the Gentoos, Moors, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, twenty lacks of rupees shall be given.

VII. FOR the effects plundered from the Armenian inhabitants of Calcutta, I will give the sum of seven lacks of rupees.

THE distribution of the sums allotted to the English, Gentoo, Moor, and other inhabitants of Calcutta, shall be left to Admiral Watson, Colonel Clive, Roger Drake, William Watts, James Kilpatrick, and Richard Beecher, Esquires, to be disposed of by them, to whom they think proper.

VIII. WITHIN the ditch which surrounds the borders of Calcutta, are tracts of land belonging to the several Zemindars; besides these, I will grant to the English Company six hundred yards without the ditch.

IX. ALL the land lying south of Calcutta, as far as Culpea, shall be under the Zemindary of the English Company; and all the officers of those parts shall be under their jurisdiction. The revenues to be paid by the Company in the same manner with other Zemindars.

X. WHENEVER I demand the assistance of the English, I will be at the charge of the maintenance of their troops.

XI. I WILL not erect any new fortifications near the river Ganges, below Houghly.

XII. As soon as I am established in the three provinces, the aforesaid sums shall be faithfully paid.

DATED the fifteenth of the month Ramzan, (June, 1757) in the fourth year of the present reign.

THERE was a separate treaty, stipulating the payment of fifty lacks to the army and navy.

OUR

Our affairs were now drawing to a crisis, when an event happened, that had like to have blasted all our hopes. Whether any thing of our connections with Meer Jaffier had reached the Soubah's ears, or whether he had before projected his destruction, and thought this the properest opportunity, while we seemed so quiet, is uncertain; but Meer Jaffier thought himself in such danger, that he would no longer venture to go to court, and on his disobedience of the Soubah's summons, his death was resolved upon. The artillery was pointed against his house, and the troops ordered to surround it. Meer Jaffier acquainted the Colonel with his situation, and wrote him, that nothing could extricate him from the danger he was in, but the news of his march. The die was cast; and on the 13th of June the whole army marched forward, and the Colonel wrote the Soubah, the very day of his march, to the following purport: "That, from his great reputation for justice, and faithful observance of his word, he had been induced to make peace with him, and to pass over the loss of many crores of rupees, sustained by the English in the capture of Calcutta, and to rest content with whatever he, in his justice and generosity, should restore to them; that his Excellency had not thought fit to set any value on the friendship of the English, but had, in every thing, discouraged, as much as possible, the Company's business, by turning their Vacqueel disgracefully from his presence, refusing free passage to the English through the country, intercepting their trade, and searching their factory at Cossimbuzar for ammunition and warlike stores, on pretence of their intending an attempt on his life, in the time of profound peace; threatening them with instant rupture, if they did not submit to the search; that these were but trifles, compared to his open and avowed protection of the King's enemies, of which his letters to Monf. Bussy, wrote but a few days after his entering into a solemn treaty with us, inviting him to his country, was a flagrant proof; that his protection, and allowance of ten thousand rupees per month, to Monf. Laws, and many other circumstances, were not only so many deviations from the treaty, but evidently shewed his Excellency's intention to fall upon the English, as soon as the absence of their troops might expose them to it; that the main article of the treaty was infringed, in his proffering only a fifth part of the sum paid into the treasury, for the plunder of Calcutta, and yet demanding a discharge for the whole. The Colonel complained bitterly of so many insults put upon him; and reminded the Soubah how different his own conduct was, when called upon

to assist against the Pattans. He solemnly declared, his intentions were to have fought for him to the last drop of his blood; but seeing his Excellency had chosen his friends from among his enemies, and had, in every respect, deviated from his engagements, he had determined, with the approbation of all who were charged with the Company's affairs, to proceed immediately to Cossimbuzar, and submit their disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Roydullub, Jagutseat, and others of his great men. That if it should be found, that he, the Colonel, had deviated from the treaty, he then swore to give up all further claims; but that, if it appeared his Excellency had broke it, he should then demand satisfaction for all the losses sustained by the English, and all the charges of their army and navy; and concluded with telling him, that the rains being so near, and it requiring many days to receive answer, he had found it necessary to wait upon him immediately."

AFFAIRS between the Soubah and Meer Jaffier were now at a crisis. Some of the few who were faithful to the Soubah, assured him it was at Meer Jaffier's instigation that we marched up, and advised him to fall on him immediately; but others, of Meer Jaffier's party, who were in his confidence, persuaded him to make up the breach for the present, and defer his designs to some more favourable occasion. If the Soubah erred before in abandoning the French, he doubly erred now, in admitting a suspicious friend, and one whose death he was still determined on, to continue in the charge of a great body of troops, which self-defence would have taught him to make use of for his own preservation. He was sensible of his weakness; but, instead of having resolution to rise above it, and terminating his fears at once, by the attack of Meer Jaffier, he endeavoured to deceive him, by the thin disguise of grace and pardon, confirmed by oaths. The Koran was introduced, the accustomed pledge of their falsehood; the Soubah swore he would never attempt his life; Meer Jaffier, that he would be his faithful soldier, and fight for him to the last drop of his blood. They parted with smiles on their countenances, and treachery in their hearts, each happy in the thought of over-reaching the other; and now we were the grand object of their attention. The Soubah immediately took the field, with about twenty thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, and fifty pieces of heavy cannon; whilst our army, consisting of a thousand Europeans, and two thousand Seapoys, with six field-pieces, and a small detachment of sailors from the squadron, were advanced, partly by land, and partly by water, as far as the town of Catwa. Three days

were passed there in the most uneasy suspense, waiting for intelligence of the issue of the dispute between the Soubah, and our ally Meer Jaffier. In this doubtful interval the majority of our officers were against crossing the river, and every thing bore the face of disappointment ; but, on the twenty-second of June, the Colonel received a letter from Meer Jaffier, which determined him to hazard a battle ; and he passed the river at five in the evening. The Soubah was now within twenty miles of us ; but, far from being puffed up with the superiority of his numbers, he betrayed his anxiety at the approaching moment, when his life and government were to be exposed to the issue of a battle. Mistrust of his own army, and the dread of an enemy, who had before defeated him, made him presage the worst ; and a trifling circumstance, which he took for an ill omen, confirmed him in his fears : it is indeed the effect alone which can excuse my mentioning it.

As he was sitting in his tent, the evening before the battle, revolving in his mind the doubtful issue, his attendants imperceptibly left him, one by one, till he was alone ; when a fellow entered, unperceived by the Soubah, and carried off the gold top of the hookah he was smoking, and cut off some of the broad-cloth of his tent. It shocked his soul to think, that he, whose frowns were death but in the morning, should now be so little feared. He called for his attendants, and cried, with great emotion, “ Sure they see me dead.”

HOWEVER, with an appearance of composure, ill suited with the pangs he felt, he ordered the disposition of his army, and began his march before day-break. Ours, after a most fatiguing march, from five in the evening, till one in the morning, which was absolutely necessary, in order to be possessed of Placis town and grove before the enemy could reach it, halted in the grove till day-break ; when the Soubah's army appeared marching from their fortified camp before-mentioned ; and what with the number of elephants, all covered with scarlet cloth embroidery, their horse, with their drawn swords glistening in the sun, their heavy cannon, drawn by vast trains of oxen, and their standards flying, they made a grand and formidable appearance. And their disposition, as well as the regular manner in which they formed, seemed to speak greater skill in war than we expected from them. But what avails pomp and parade, when the heart is not fired by loyalty to its prince, or love to its country ?

AT six in the morning, June 23, the enemy was discovered marching in a deep column from their old camp: between every body of four or five thousand was a part of their artillery. In this order they continued marching, as if they intended to surround us, as far as the river would permit; but as soon as their rear was got out of the camp, they halted, and a body of about fifty French advanced in front of the rest, their officer calling out, in vain, for some of the Soubah's troops to follow him: for such was their mistrust of each other, that no commander dared to venture on singly, for fear some other commander, suspected of attachment to us, should fall on him. These advanced, under cover of an eminence, to within about five hundred paces of us, and then began a general cannonading. Our little army was at first drawn up without the bank which surrounded the grove, but we soon found such a shower of balls pouring upon us from their fifty pieces of cannon, most of which were thirty-two and twenty-four pounders, that we retired under cover of the bank, leaving two field pieces without, whilst the other four kept playing through the breaches in the bank. In this posture both armies remained till about twelve, when a heavy shower of rain falling, the enemy's horse advanced, as if they meant to take advantage of it; but when they found our field-pieces kept firing, notwithstanding the rain, it checked their ardour. The rain ceasing, the cannonading continued till about four in the afternoon, when they began to retire to their old camp, their artillery marching in first. And now we took notice of a large body on our left, moving in such a manner, as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to possess themselves of the village on our left, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join us. However, as no signal had been agreed on, owing to the miscarriage of a messenger, who had been dispatched to us in the morning by Meer Jaffier, we kept them at a distance by our field pieces. When all their artillery was got within the camp, Major Kilpatrick moved forward with about two hundred whites and three hundred seapoys, and possessed himself of the eminence, where the French had been, till they retired with the rest. On this motion, the enemy seemed inclined to come out again on the plain; but Colonel Clive ordering all our fire to be directed against their oxen and drivers, after several attempts they were obliged to give over, and several large bodies of horse began to advance on us, and take possession of an adjacent eminence; but we presently observed their elephants unruly, and great confusion amongst them. The Colonel conceiving this the moment on which the success of the day depended,

pended, immediately ordered the eminence and their camp to be assaulted by the advanced body and the whole army to march forward. The enemy stood their ground at the eminence long enough to receive a general volley, when they faced about with great precipitation; and some of their ammunition blowing up just as Colonel Clive was marching up to their camp, it put them into such confusion, as made them incapable of resistance, and the rout became general. Their camp, baggage, and cannon, all fell into our hands, and we continued the pursuit all night. Thus was this decisive victory obtained, with the trifling loss of about seventy men killed and wounded on our side, and about five or six hundred on the enemy's.

ONE great cause of our success was, that in the very beginning of the action, we had the good fortune to kill Meer Modun, one of the Soubah's best and most faithful officers; which struck such a terror into him, that he sent for Meer Jaffier, threw his turban at his feet, and told him, with a most dejected countenance, "That it was he that must protect that turban." Whether this moved Meer Jaffier's compassion, or his politics were to save appearances with both parties, is uncertain; but he did not offer to join us, only wrote the Colonel a note, advising him to push forward, for that the battle was more than half won: in every thing else he stood neuter during the whole action.

DESPONDENCY had now taken such possession of the Soubah's soul, that he left the field at four in the evening, on an elephant, and made such haste, that he was himself one of the first that carried the news of his defeat to the capital, which he reached that night. Meer Jaffier's troops retired slowly and regularly from the field of action, marching wide of the rest of the Soubah's army, and halted a few miles from us. In the morning the Colonel sent Omar Beg, a Moorman, and Mr. Scrafton, to Meer Jaffier. As soon as he saw the messengers, he advanced forward, with his son, to meet them; but was far from testifying that joy which might have been expected: Probably, bred up in the treacherous court of Allyverde Caun, he harboured some suspicion that the Colonel might resent his conduct, in not joining him conformably to his promises; for afterwards, when the guards drew out to receive him as he passed, he started, as if he thought it was all over with him; nor did his countenance brighten up, till the Colonel embraced him, and saluted him Soubah of the three provinces, advising him to hasten to

the capital, to prevent its being plundered, and to assume the title of Soubah, in which he would support him with all his force as soon as possible. We continued our joyful march towards the city, and had the pleasure to see the marks of our victory all through our route, the plains being covered with cannon, trains of oxen, broken carriages, wounded horses, and, among the rest, an elephant found dead, sixteen miles from the field of battle, with two six-pound shot lodged in his body.

LET us now follow Surajah Dowla. On his arrival at the city, he assembled all his great officers, to consult them on this unfortunate event: some advised him to deliver himself up to the Colonel, against whom he had no hope of success, having been twice defeated by him. This, which was the most prudent advice, his shallow judgment mistook for treachery. Others advised him to open his treasury to his army, and endeavour, by great rewards, to spirit them up to make another effort. He seemed to approve of this, immediately ordered three months pay to his army, and dismissed his council with assurances of his heading his troops again in the morning. But, when left by himself, he suffered all the pangs of adversity. His terrified imaginations represented every one that approached him as a traitor, that wanted to deliver him up. He abandoned himself to his fears, and, knowing not whom to trust, he disguised himself in a mean dress, and stole out of a window in the dead of night, with no attendants but one faithful servant.

BEFORE Meer Jaffier could enter the palace, the women had broke loose from their confinement, and carried off jewels to an immense value; while the soldiery had broke into the treasury, and carried away great sums of gold. All was anarchy and confusion; the frightened inhabitants stood in dreadful suspense, expecting nothing but massacre and desolation from a victorious army; till the arrival of Mr. Watts and Mr. Walsh, sent forward by the Colonel, and a proclamation issued out, that Meer Jaffier was appointed Soubah by Colonel Clive, turned their fears to astonishment.

THIS, with the news of the halt of our army on the 25th and 26th, restored tranquillity to the city. Meer Jaffier, whether conscious how little he had contributed to our success, or that a Mussulman could not conceive such moderation, when we had the whole in our power, still doubted the reality of his exaltation, and it was with great difficulty that Messrs. Watts and Walsh could prevail on him to act as Soubah.

On

ON the 27th the Colonel entered the city, with two hundred Europeans, and five hundred seapoys, and took up his quarters at a palace near the Soubah's. Upon the Colonel's arrival, Jagutseat, and several of the great men, anxious for their fate, sent their submission, with offers of large presents, which the Colonel refused, assuring them he desired nothing but their assistance in settling the government. The next day Meer Jaffier visited the Colonel, and accompanied him in great pomp to Jagutseat's house, where they settled all money affairs.

ON the 29th the Colonel went to the Soubah's palace; and, in presence of all the Rajahs and great men of the court, led him to his throne, and, in compliance with the custom of the country, made his submission to him as Soubah, by presenting him with a few pieces of gold, in which he was followed by all the great men present. From this time Meer Jaffier assumed the title of Mahabet Jung, and acted as Soubah of the three provinces.

THE first fruit of our success, was the receipt of near a million sterling, which the Soubah paid us on the 3d of July, and was laden on board two hundred boats, part of the fleet that attended us in our march up, escorted by a detachment from the army. As soon as they entered the great river, they were joined by the boats of the squadron, and all together formed a fleet of three hundred boats, with music playing, drums beating, and colours flying, and exhibited to the French and Dutch, by whose settlements they passed, a scene far different from what they had beheld the year before, when the Nabob's fleet and army passed them, with the captive English, and all the wealth and plunder of Calcutta.

WHILE we were thus happy in our success, Surajah Dowla was travelling in disguise, like a miserable fugitive, towards Patna, where he hoped once more to appear in arms; but being discovered by the Governor of Rajamaul, Meer Jaffier's brother, he was surrounded; and advice of it reaching the Soubah, he sent his son to take him prisoner, and bring him to the city, where he arrived on the 4th of July at night, unknown to the Colonel, and was privately put to death by the order of Meer Jaffier, who came in the morning to apologize for having taken such a step without consulting him. This account is given by Mr. Scrafton; but the letters which passed between Admiral Watson and Surajah Dowla, and the account given by Lord Clive, giving further light into the conduct on both sides, they are added.

C H A P. IV.

Letters between the Nabob and Admiral Watson, &c.

Admiral Watson's Letter to Surajah Dowla, Nabob of the Provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa.

THE King my master (whose name is revered among the monarchs of the world) sent me to these parts with a great fleet, to protect the East India Company's trade, rights, and privileges. The advantages resulting to the Mogul's dominions from the extensive commerce carried on by my master's subjects, are too apparent to need enumerating: how great was my surprize, therefore, to hear you had marched against the said Company's factories, with a large army, and forcibly expelled their servants, seized and plundered their effects, amounting to a large sum of money, and killed great numbers of the King my master's subjects?

I AM come down to Bengal to re-establish the said Company's servants in their former factories and houses, and hope to find you willing to restore them their ancient rights and immunities. As you must be sensible of the benefit of having the English settled in your country, I doubt not you will consent to make them a reasonable satisfaction for the losses and injuries they have suffered, and by that means put an amicable end to the troubles, and secure the friendship of my King, who is a lover of peace, and delights to act in equity. What can I say more?

From on board his Britannick Majesty's ship
Kent, at Fulta, the 17th Dec. 1756.

Surajah Dowla's Letter to Admiral Watson.

Jan. 23, 1757.

YOU write me, that the King your master sent you into India to protect the Company's settlements, trade, rights, and privileges: the instant I received this letter I sent you an answer; but it appears to me that my reply never reached you, for which reason I write again. I must inform you, that Roger Drake, the Company's chief in Bengal, acted contrary to the orders I sent him, and encroached upon my authority; he gave protec-
tion

tion to the King's subjects who absented themselves, from the inspection of the Durbar, which practice I did forbid, but to no purpose. On this account I was determined to punish him, and accordingly expelled him my country: but it was my inclination to have given the English Company permission to have carried on their trade as formerly, had another chief been sent here: for the good therefore of these provinces, and the inhabitants, I send you this letter; and if you are inclined to re-establish the Company, only appoint a chief, and you may depend upon my giving currency to their commerce upon the same terms as heretofore enjoyed. If the English behave themselves like merchants, and follow my orders, they may rest assured of my favour, protection, and assistance.

THE slave of Allum-gueer, King of Indostan, the
mighty conqueror, the lamp of riches, Shah Kuly
Khan, the most valiant amongst warriors.

Admiral Watson's Answer.

Dated 27th of Jan. 1757.

YOUR letter of the 23d of this month I this day received; it has given me the greatest pleasure, as it informs me you had written to me before, a circumstance I am glad to be assured of under your hand, as the not answering my letter would have been such an affront as I could not have put up with unnoticed, without incurring the anger of the King my master.

You tell me in your letter, that the reason of your expelling the English out of these countries was, the bad behaviour of Mr. Drake, the Company's chief in Bengal. But, besides that Princes and Rulers of states, not seeing with their own eyes, nor hearing with their own ears, are often misinformed, and the truth kept from them by the arts of crafty and wicked men; Was it becoming the justice of a Prince to punish all for one man's sake? Or to ruin and destroy so many innocent people as had no way offended, but who, relying on the faith of the royal Phirmaund, expected protection and security both to their property and lives, instead of oppression and murder, which they unhappily found? Are these actions becoming the justice of a Prince? Nobody will say they are. They can only then have been caused by wicked men, who have misrepresented things to you through malice, or for their

own private ends ; for great Princes delight in acts of justice, and in shewing mercy.

IF therefore you are desirous of meriting the fame of a great Prince, and lover of justice, shew your abhorrence of these proceedings, by punishing those evil counsellors who advised them ; cause satisfaction to be made to the Company, and to all others who have been deprived of their property, and by these acts turn off the edge of the sword, which is ready to fall on the heads of your subjects.

IF you have any cause of complaint against Mr. Drake, as it is but just the master alone should have a power over his servant, send your complaints to the Company, and I will answer for it they will give you satisfaction.

ALTHOUGH I am a foldier as well as you, I had rather receive satisfaction from your own inclination to do justice, than be obliged to force it from you by the distress of your innocent subjects.

The Nabob's Reply.

YOU have taken and plundered Houghley, and made war upon my subjects : these are not actions becoming merchants ! I have, therefore, left Muxadabad, and am arrived near Houghley ; I am likewise crossing the river with my army, part of which is advanced towards your camp. Nevertheless, if you have a mind to have the Company's business settled upon its ancient footing, and to give a currency to their trade ; send a person of consequence to me, who can make your demands, and treat with me upon this affair. I shall not scruple to grant a Perwannah for the restitution of all the Company's factories, and permit them to trade in my country upon the same terms as formerly. If the English who are settled in those provinces will behave like merchants, obey my orders, and give me no offence, you may depend upon it I will take their loss into consideration, and adjust matters to their satisfaction. You know how difficult it is to prevent foldiers from plundering in war ; therefore if you will, on your parts, relinquish something of the damages you have sustained by being pillaged by my army, I will endeavour to give you satisfaction even in that particular, in order to gain your friendship, and preserve a good understanding for the future with your nation. You are a Christian, and know how much preferable it is to accommodate a dispute,
than

than to keep it alive; but if you are determined to sacrifice the interest of your Company, and the good of private merchants, to your inclinations for war, it is no fault of mine: to prevent the fatal consequence of such a ruinous war, I write this letter.

The Nabob's Proposals of Peace to Admiral Watson.

“THE Colonel’s letter I have received, with the agreement of the governor and council signed and sealed. He desires me to get the articles of the treaty now made, ratified by my great men and principal officers. I have complied with his request: it will be proper, likewise, for you and the Colonel, on one part, and myself on the other, to execute an agreement that hostilities between us shall cease; that the English will always remain my friends and allies; and that they will assist me against my enemies: for this purpose I send a person of distinction and confidence, who will speak at large the sentiments of my heart; and I hope you will inform him of your disposition towards me. The articles which were sent to me, I have returned, signed by myself, the King’s Duan, my own Duan, and the Bukhshi of my army. I should be glad if you would confirm this treaty by a paper under your hand and seal, as the Colonel has done. I have, in the most solemn manner, called God and the prophets to witness, that I have made peace with the English. As long as I have life, I shall esteem your enemies as enemies to me, and will assist you to the utmost of my power whenever you require it. Do you likewise, and the Colonel, and the chiefs of the English factory, swear, in the presence of the Almighty God, to observe and perform your part of the treaty, and to esteem my enemies as your own, and always be ready to give me your assistance against them: and, though you may not come yourself, I flatter myself, you will send the aid I shall at any time ask for. God is the witness between us in this treaty.

“God and his prophets are witnesses, that I never will deviate from the terms of the treaty I have now made with the English Company, and that I will on all occasions shew them my favour, relying on your faith to observe inviolably your part of the treaty.”

The Nabob's Letter to Admiral Watson.

“**T**O put an end to the hostilities in my country and dominions, I consented and agreed to the treaty of peace with the English, that trade and commerce might be carried on as formerly; to which treaty you have agreed, and a firm accommodation between us is settled and established: you have sent me an agreement under your own hand and seal, not to disturb the tranquillity of my country; but it now appears that you have a design to besiege the French factory near Houghley, and to commence hostilities against that nation. This is contrary to all rule and custom, that you should bring your animosities and differences into my country; for it has never been known, since the days of Timur, that the Europeans made war upon one another within the King's dominions. If you are determined to besiege the French factories, I shall be necessitated, in honour and duty to my King, to assist them with my troops. You seem inclined to break the treaty so lately concluded between us; formerly the Mharattas infested these dominions, and for many years harrassed the country with war, but when the dispute was accommodated, and a treaty of peace with that people concluded, they never broke it, nor will they ever deviate from the terms of the said treaty. It is a wrong and wicked practice, to break through and pay no regard to treaties made in the most solemn manner: you are certainly bound to abide by your part of the treaty strictly, and never to attempt, or be the occasion of any troubles or disturbances in future, within the provinces under my jurisdiction. I will, on my part, observe most punctually what I have promised and consented to.

“I WILL maintain and preserve, on my part, the treaty of peace I have made with the English, which, with the permission of God, I hope will continue for ever: you may have heard, that for seven years we had constant wars with the Mharattas; but when a treaty of peace was concluded with them, they strictly observed the terms, and never deviated from them. It is but just and reasonable, that your nation should pay regard to the late treaty, and commit no hostilities in my country, nor disturb its tranquillity with any differences that may subsist between you and other European powers.”

To

To this the Admiral sent the following Reply, dated the 21st of February, 1757.

“**Y**OUR letter of the 19th I was honoured with this morning; and observe that you disapprove of our committing hostilities against the French settled in these provinces. Had I imagined it would have given you any umbrage, I should never have entertained the least thoughts of disturbing the tranquillity of your country, by acting against that nation within the Ganges; and am now ready to desist from attacking their factory, or committing other hostilities against them in these provinces, if they will consent and agree to a solid treaty of neutrality; and if you, as Soubahdar of Bengal, will, under your hand, guarantee this treaty, and promise to protect the English from any attempts made by that nation against our settlements during my absence. I am persuaded you have heard of no people in the world who pay a stricter regard to their word, and to the faith of treaties, than the English; and I do sincerely assure you, that I will inviolably preserve the peace we have concluded with you; and I dare answer for the Colonel and the Company’s representatives, that they will not attempt to infringe any part of it.

“I HAVE ratified the late treaty between you and the English, with my hand and seal: and I now repeat my assurances, made in the presence of God, and of Jesus Christ, that I maintain and preserve inviolably my part of the said treaty, not doubting of your sincerity in performing such articles as you have consented to. I likewise promise, that I will not disturb the tranquillity of your country, by committing any hostilities against the French, provided you will be answerable for their observance of a strict neutrality with us.”

THE French, by the prevailing power of corruption, had gained some of the courtiers, and they so influenced the Nabob, that, without waiting for the above answer to his letter of the 19th, on the 20th he sent another letter to the Admiral.

“**T**HE letter I wrote to you yesterday, I imagine you have received; since which I have been informed, by the French Vackeel, that five or six additional ships of war have arrived in the river, and that more are expected. He represents, likewise, that you design commencing hostilities against me

and my subjects again, as soon as the rains are over. This is not acting agreeable to the character of a true soldier, and a man of honour, who never violate their words. If you are sincere in the treaty concluded with me, send your ships of war out of the river, and abide steadfastly by your agreement; I will not fail in the observance of the treaty on my part. Is it becoming or honest to begin a war, after concluding the peace so lately and solemnly? The Mharattas are bound by no gospel, yet they are strict observers of treaties: it will, therefore, be matter of great astonishment, and hard to be believed, if you, who are enlightened with the gospel, should not remain firm, and preserve the treaty you have ratified in the presence of God and Jesus Christ."

To this the Admiral replied, in a Letter dated the 25th of February, 1757.

"YOUR letter of the 20th instant, I received two days ago; but being just in the height of my dispatches for England, I was not able to answer it till now. I know not how to express to you my astonishment, at finding myself taxed with having a design to break the peace, on so slight a foundation as a base fellow's having dared to tell you so, without any one action of mine being produced to support so extravagant and impudent an accusation, which has not the least shadow of probability to render it credible. You tell me, "It is unworthy the character of a soldier, and a man of honour, to violate their words!" In what single instance, since my being here, have I acted so unworthily as to make you think me capable of violating mine? yourself can answer for me, "In none." My dealing with you hath always been full of that frankness and sincerity, for which my countrymen are remarkable throughout the known world. From you, Sir, I expect justice on that base man, who has dared falsely to accuse me, and to impose upon you. In the mean time, I have complained to the French of their Vackeel's behaviour; who have promised me to write to you their knowledge of the falsity of his accusation. You may rest assured, that I will always religiously observe the peace; and I beg you to believe, that people who raise reports to the contrary, can only do it to create jealousies, which they hope will break the friendship they are sorry to see between us."

Notwithstanding the Nabob had by this time sent a body of troops to assist the French, he sent the following letter to the Admiral:

The Nabob to the Admiral.

“**T**HE letter you wrote me about the French affair, I have received and perused : you may depend upon it, that I neither have, nor will, assist the French. If they begin any troubles, or commit any hostilities in my territories, I will oppose them with my whole force, and punish them very severely. I was informed you designed to attack Chandernagore, which made me write to you what I thought was reasonable and just, upon that head. The forces I sent down were to guard and protect the King’s subjects, and not to assist the French. If the purport of my letter has been the occasion of your desisting from the attack of Chandernagore, it gives me great satisfaction. I have written to the French, likewise, what I thought was proper, in order to make them apply for a neutrality : I suppose they will act conformably. I will send a person of consideration to bring me the treaty you may conclude with them, and will order it to be registered in my books. Assure yourself that I have no other design or inclination, than to live upon terms of good understanding and friendship with the English. By the grace of God, I never intend to do any thing that you will not esteem just ; this rely upon, and do not expect a failure. Do you likewise remain fixed to your treaty and word, and give no credit to the reports of people of no consideration or figure : if you have any thing to write about, please to address me, and no body else ; I will always send you a fair and unreserved answer.

“ THE van of the King of Dehli’s army is advancing towards the provinces ; upon this intelligence I design marching towards Patna to meet them. If at this critical juncture you will be my friend, and send me assistance, I will pay your forces a lack of rupees monthly, while they remain with me. Send me an immediate answer.”

The Admiral to the Nabob.

“**I** THIS moment received your letter, which gives me the greatest satisfaction. I own I had a suspicion, from your so easy crediting French reports, that you entertained a partiality for that nation, to the prejudice of mine : your letter has removed

removed all my doubts, so that henceforward I shall rely with confidence on your friendship, and every day study to give you the strongest proofs of mine.

“ THE ready obedience I paid to your desire, in not attacking the French, will, I persuade myself, convince you that nothing but the strongest necessity could make me again apply to you on that subject. I beg you will give your most serious attention to what I am going to say:—Immediately on the receipt of one of your past letters, I not only gave over all thoughts of attacking the French, but invited them to enter into a treaty of neutrality, and to send people here to settle the terms; but judge what must have been my surprize, when, after they were in some manner settled, the French deputies owned that they had no power to secure to us the observance of the treaty, in case any commander of theirs should come with a greater power after my departure! You are too reasonable not to see, that it is impossible for me to conclude a treaty with a people who have no power to do it, and which, besides, while it ties my hands, leaves those of my enemies at liberty to do me what mischief they can. They have also for a long time reported, that Monsieur Bussy is coming here with a great army. Is it to attack you? Is it to attack us? You are going to Patna—you ask the assistance of our forces. Can we with the least degree of prudence march with you, and leave our enemies behind us? You will be then too far off to support us, and we shall be unable to defend ourselves. Think what can be done in this situation. I see but one way. Let us take Chandernagore, and secure ourselves against any apprehensions from that quarter, and then we will assist you with every man in our power, and go with you even to Dehli, if you will. Have we sworn reciprocally, that the friends and the enemies of the one should be regarded as such by the other? and will not God, the avenger of perjury, punish us, if we do not fulfil our oaths? What can I say more? Let me request the favour of your speedy answer.

“ You tell me the van of the King of Dehli’s army is advancing towards these provinces, and that you are going towards Patna to meet them; in consequence of which, you ask me to be your friend, and give you assistance. Have we not already sworn a friendship? Put it but into my power to assist you, by yielding to my request, and you shall find I will support you to the utmost of my ability. Believe me, and most assuredly you will not be deceived. If you doubt me, look back into all my dealings towards you, and judge from them. I esteem you now to be such a friend to my nation, that I think it would be
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doing injustice to your good inclination towards me, to keep any occurrence from your knowledge: therefore I take this earliest opportunity to tell you, the troops which should have come here with me, are now arrived in the river, a circumstance that will be beneficial to your interest, if you will but give me the means of making it so."

A few days after this, the Admiral's favourable sentiments of the Nabob were entirely changed; he was convinced that he had entered into a private negociation with the French, and was determined to support them, even with his whole force, while every article of his treaty with us remained unfulfilled. He, therefore, on the 4th of March, sent the following letter:

The Admiral to the Nabob.

"I Answered your letter of the 20th of last month some days past; I suppose you have, ere now, received it, and are thereby fully convinced of the falsehood of the French Vackeel's informations, of my intention to break the peace.

"If you still want farther proofs of the sincerity with which I made it, and the desire I have to preserve it, you will find them in my patience; which has not only suffered your part of the treaty to be thus long unexecuted, but has even borne with your assisting my enemies the French with men and money, contrary to your faith, pledged to me in the most solemn manner, "That my enemies should be your's."

"Is it thus that soldiers and men of honour never violate their word? But it is time now to speak plain: if you are really desirous of preserving your country in peace, and your subjects from misery and ruin, in ten days from the date of this, fulfil your part of the treaty in every article, that I may not have the least cause of complaint; otherwise, remember, you must answer for the consequences; and, as I have always acted the open, unreserved part, in all my dealings with you, I now acquaint you, that the remainder of the troops, which should have been here long since, and which, I hear, the Colonel told you he expected, will be at Calcutta in a few days; that in a few days more I shall dispatch a vessel for more ships and more troops; and that I will kindle such a flame in your country, as all the water in the Ganges shall

shall not be able to extinguish. Farewell: Remember that he promises you this, who never yet broke his word with you, or with any man whatsoever."

The Admiral, on the 9th of March, received from the Nabob the following Answer:

"I HAVE already answered the letter you wrote me some days ago. Be so kind as to consider the purport of what I wrote *, and send me a speedy reply. I am fixed and determined to abide by the terms of the treaty we have concluded, but have been obliged to defer the execution of the articles, on account of the Hooly, during which holidays my Banians and Ministers do not attend the Durbar. As soon as that is over, I will strictly comply with every thing I have signed. You are sensible there is no avoiding this delay, and I flatter myself it will not be thought much of. It is not my custom to break any treaty I make, therefore be satisfied that I will not endeavour to evade that which I have made with the English. I rely on your friendship and bravery, in giving me the assistance I asked, against the van of the Pytan army, who are advancing this way; and that you will oblige me with a compliance to the request I made in my last letter. What shall I say more?"

"I beg you will be sensible of my sincerity. I promise you, in the most faithful manner, that I will never break or infringe my part of the treaty I have made with your nation."

Inclosed in this letter came a small paper with these lines:

"THIS you may be sure of, that if any person or persons attempt to quarrel with you, or become your enemies, I have sworn before God that I will assist you. I have never given the French a single cowry; and what forces of mine are at Houghley, were sent to Nundcomar, the Fougedar † of that place. The French will never dare to quarrel with you; and I persuade myself that you will not, contrary to ancient custom, commit any hostilities within the Ganges, or in the provinces of which I am Soubahdar."

* Concerning the King of Dehli.

† Governor and chief magistrate of the district.

The Admiral received also from the Nabob another letter, dated the 10th of March, 1757.

“YOUR obliging answer to my letter I have received, wherein you write, that your suspicions are at an end; and that, on the receipt of my letter, you forbore attacking Chandernagore, and sent for their people to make peace, and wrote out the terms of agreement; but when they were about signing them, they declared, that if they signed the articles, and any other commander should arrive, they could not be answerable for his adhering; and that on this account there was no peace. You also write many other particulars, of which I am well acquainted. It is true, if it is the custom of the French, that if one man makes an agreement, another will not comply with it, what security is there? My forbidding war upon my borders, was because the French were my tenants, and upon this affair desired my protection. On this I wrote to you to make peace, and no intentions had I of assisting or favouring them. You have understanding and generosity; if your enemy with an upright heart claims your protection, you will give him his life, but then you must be well satisfied of the innocence of his intentions; if not, whatever you think right, that do †. I am firm to my agreement, and look upon your enemies as my own; which I shall never swerve from. Daily our friendship will increase ‡.”

CHANDERNAGORE TAKEN FROM THE FRENCH.

COLONEL Clive, the latter end of February, left his camp near Calcutta, and crossed the Ganges, which was equally convenient either to commence hostilities against the French, or to join the Nabob against the Pytan forces; but the intentions both of the Nabob and the French being very manifest, on the 8th of March he turned his face towards Chandernagore, and on the 13th he invested it. On the 14th the enemy sallied out; in which affair

† It was this paragraph that encouraged the Admiral and Colonel to proceed in their attack of Chandernagore.

‡ From Mr. Watts's translation.

Captain Coote greatly signalized himself, and soon after made them retreat; on this they quitted their outer works, and became masters of the town, and the batteries in and about it, with very little loss; and the enemy, by this means, were shut up within their fort.

As soon as every thing was in readiness on board the fleet, and the ships cleared of their superfluous stores, they moved up the river with the flood-tides. To the great mortification of the French (who had flattered themselves that it would be impracticable for us to bring up our largest ships, on the 18th the Kent, Tyger, and Salisbury appeared in sight of the fort, and then, turning the point of Chandernagore reach, anchored the 19th off the Prussian octagon, from whence we had a full view of the town and fortifications. As soon as we came to an anchor, the French threw a shell, and fired a shot or two, to try if they could reach our ships, but they fell short.

THE preparations for the attack of this place had unavoidably been carried on so openly, that it was impossible they should be kept a secret from the French, who had therefore made use of every possible method to frustrate our design. Just above the fort of Chandernagore, there was a large bank of sand, which made the passage very narrow: to block up this channel, they had sunk three ships loaded with ballast; the masts of which, however, appeared above water. Three other large ships lay at anchor above the fort: these, it was said, were prepared as fire-ships, to be sent down with the tide, to burn our squadron in the middle of the night. The Admiral therefore resolved to be beforehand with them, and gave orders, that all the boats of the ships should go up, as soon as the night came on, and endeavour to cut their cables. This was accordingly done, and they all drove upon the sands. It afterwards appeared, that the crews belonging to those ships had been taken out to reinforce the garrison.

THE attack of the fort would probably have taken place the next morning, had the tides in the river been at all favourable for that purpose; but, unfortunately for us, they served either too early in the morning, or too late in the afternoon. This circumstance obliged the Admiral to postpone the attack for two or three days. In the mean time he sent Lieutenant Key with a flag of truce to the Governor, demanding a surrender of the place; which he politely, but absolutely refused to give up. Mr. Key having observed, as he passed between the vessels' masts, which were sunk in the channel of the river, that their hulls were not deep under water, Mr. John Delamotte, a brave and

active officer, and who was master on board the Admiral's ship, was the next day sent to sound them; and, notwithstanding all the efforts of the enemy to interrupt him, by an incessant firing of their cannon, he brought back the agreeable news, that there was room for our ships to pass with safety between them; but besides the obstruction which we expected to meet with from these sunken vessels, the French had taken care to erect two batteries of heavy cannon, to render this narrow pass still more difficult and dangerous. One of these was constructed in the form of a half-moon, and lay on the very brink of the river, within musket-shot of the sunken vessels; the other was a fascine battery on the glacis of the fort, and was intended to rake our ships fore and aft. The cannon on their south bastion could also be brought to fire down the river.

THE disposition made for attacking the fort was as follows: The Tyger was to be placed against the north-east bastion; the Kent against the curtain, between the bastions opposite the gate; and the Salisbury against the south-east bastion. Before we began the attack, it was judged absolutely necessary that Colonel Clive should erect a battery on the side of the river, to fire on the south face of the enemy's south-east bastion; and, in case of an obstinate resistance, that we might breach that bastion by a cross fire from the ships, and from this intended battery. Preparations were accordingly made for this purpose; but, before they could be carried into execution, the army were obliged to make themselves masters of the half-moon battery, which they did with great gallantry, driving the enemy's troops before them into the fort.

ALL things being ready, on the 22d the Admiral appeared extremely anxious to begin the attack; but the flood-tide in the afternoon was so very late, the ships could not possibly be placed in their proper stations while there was sufficient day-light to direct our fire; the enemy, therefore, would have had a great advantage over us; for though the nights were too dark for us to distinguish the embrasures of their fortifications, yet they could plainly see the hulls of our ships, which would have lain so near the fort, that a shocking carnage must have been made amongst their crews. That another day, however, might not be lost, the Admiral, the same evening, ordered lights to be placed on the masts of the vessels that had been sunk, with blinds towards the fort, that we might see how to pass between them a little before day-light, and without being discovered by the enemy.

At length, the morning of the 23d of March, the ships getting under sail, the Colonel's battery, which had been finished behind a dead wall, began

firing upon the south-east bastion. The Tyger, with Admiral Pocock's flag flying, took the lead, and about six o'clock in the morning got very well into her station against the north-east bastion: the Kent, with Admiral Watson's flag, quickly followed her; but before she could reach her proper station, the tide of ebb made down the river, which occasioned her anchor to drag; so that before she brought up, she had fallen abreast of the south-east bastion, the place where the Salisbury should have been, and, from her mainmast aft, she was exposed to the flank guns of the south-west bastion also. This accident of the Kent's anchor not holding fast, and her driving down into the Salisbury's station, threw this last ship out of action, to the great mortification of the Captain, officers, and crew; for she never had it in her power to fire a gun, unless it was now and then, when she could sheer on the tide. The French, during the whole time of the Kent and Tyger's approach towards the fort, kept up a terrible cannonade upon them, without any resistance on their parts; but as soon as the ships came properly to an anchor, they returned it with such fury, as astonished their adversaries.

Colonel Clive's troops at the same time got into those houses which were nearest the fort, and from thence greatly annoyed the enemy with their musketry. The fire now became general on both sides, and was kept up with extraordinary spirit. The flank guns of the south-west bastion galled the Kent very much; and, the Admiral's aid-de-camps being all wounded, Mr. Watson went down himself to Lieutenant William Brereton, who commanded the lower-deck battery, and ordered him particularly to direct his fire against those guns; and they were accordingly soon afterwards silenced. At eight in the morning several of the enemy's shot struck the Kent at the same time; one entered near the fore-mast, and set fire to two or three thirty-two pound cartridges of gunpowder, as the boys held them in their hands ready to charge the guns.

By the explosion, the wad-nets, and other loose things, took fire between decks, and the whole ship was so filled with smoke, that the men in their confusion cried out, she was on fire in the gunner's store-room; imagining, from the shock they felt from the balls, that a shell had actually fallen into her. This notion struck a panic into the greatest part of the crew, and 70 or 80 jumped out of the port-holes into the boats that were along-side the ship. The French presently saw this confusion on board the Kent, and, resolving to take the advantage, kept up as hot a fire as possible upon her during the whole time. Lieutenant Brereton, however, with the assistance of
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some other brave men, soon extinguished the fire; and then running to the ports, he begged the seamen to come in again, upbraiding them for deserting their quarters: but finding this had no effect upon them, he thought the more certain method of succeeding would be to strike them with a sense of shame, and therefore loudly exclaimed, "Are you Britons, are you Englishmen, and fly from danger? for shame, for shame!" This reproach had the desired effect; to a man, they immediately returned into the ship, repaired to their quarters, and renewed a spirited fire on the enemy.

IN about three hours from the commencement of the attack, the parapets of the north and south bastions were almost beaten down; the guns were mostly dismounted; and we could plainly see from the main-top of the Kent, that the ruins from the parapet had entirely blocked up those few guns which otherwise might have been fit for service. We could easily discern too, that there had been a great slaughter among the enemy; who, finding that our fire against them rather increased, hung out the white flag: whereupon a cessation of hostilities took place, and the Admiral sent Lieutenant Brereton (the only commission officer on board the Kent that was not killed or wounded) and Captain Coote, of the King's regiment, with a flag of truce to the fort; who soon returned, accompanied by the French governor's son, with articles of capitulation: which being settled by the Admiral and Colonel Clive, they soon after took possession of the place.

C H A P. V.

Continuation of the Correspondence between Admiral Watson and Surajah Dowla.

Admiral Watson to the Nabob.

26 March, 1757.

"I HAVE the honour of several of your letters, which I would have paid due attention to, and answered immediately, had not the service I came here upon engaged all my time. I hope you will accept this as a reasonable excuse for my long silence. I have now the pleasure to acquaint you, that on
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the 23d of this month, after two hours fighting, we, by the blessing of God, and the happy influence of your fortune and friendship, subdued and took possession of the French fort, making our enemies prisoners, except a small number, who fled up the river with their effects. I have sent a few armed men to seize them; and I persuade myself you will not be displeased at this step, since I have given the strictest orders not to molest or disturb any of your subjects.

“ I have often declared to you my unalterable resolution of strictly adhering to the treaty made between us; and, as we have sworn reciprocally, that the enemies of either should be esteemed the enemies of both, I hope, by your favour, the enemies I have now remaining, will be delivered into my hands, together with their effects.

“ The moment I received your letter, complaining of Mr. Drake's having addressed himself to Monichchund in a manner displeasing to you, I wrote to Mr. Drake, and desired he would make an apology to you, for the expressions he had made use of to Monichchund; which he has done, and I hope you are satisfied therewith: you may rest assured, you will have no cause of such complaint for the future.

“ I observe by your letter of the 22d of this month, that you were under a necessity of sending your brother, Rajah Roy Dallubfam Bahader, into the Burdwan country, to collect the revenues, which Monichchund excused himself from paying: as you have given me your word, that this is the purpose of his march, it is not in the power of any artful, designing person to make me believe the contrary; and, as it will be evermore my first principle to promote and establish the friendship made between us, I shall be very cautious how I give credit to any idle stories, tending to break the unity, which I hope will endure for ever between you and the English. I am sensible our nation has many enemies at your court; but, as you are a wise and prudent Prince, I hope you will in time discover all the wickedness of those, who, by asserting for positive truths what have appeared to be notorious falsehoods, have attempted to injure us in your opinion. As I know your ears have been filled with evil reports of us, and you will be subject to hear the stories of such deceivers, a person in whom I confide will be sent to you: receive what he may say, as my sentiments, and be assured you shall not be deceived. What can I say more?”

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THIS letter not producing the desired effect, and being too well convinced that the Nabob had hostile intentions in his breast; for, instead of delivering up, he corresponded with and protected our French enemies; the Admiral addressed another letter to him, dated the 31st of March, 1757.

“ I HAVE already informed you of our conquest of Chandernagore, and making all the French our prisoners, except some fugitives who fled up the river; after whom, I told you, I had sent some armed men in boats. I am sorry I should be under the necessity of sending you another letter; but having received information that you have not as yet performed your agreement, I must take leave to acquaint you, that, from the repeated promises you have made, of keeping your word in every respect, I now expect you will act conformably to the oath you have taken before God and your prophet, and comply immediately with all the articles of the treaty. Deliver also the cannon to Mr. Watts, which you now have belonging to the Company, and strictly keep to the oath we have both sworn, of living in friendship, and esteeming each other's enemies our own; and deliver up into my hands all the French in your dominions, with their effects. This will be keeping your oath, and behaving like a Prince whose pursuit is justice, and whose utmost glory, as a soldier, is preserving his word inviolable. Depend upon it, if there are any about you bold enough to advise you to act contrary to these just demands, they are your enemies, and want to see your country involved in a ruinous war; which nothing but your breach of promise, of faith, and of honour, shall ever prevail on me to engage in. Nothing will give me more satisfaction, than the being assured that continual peace and friendship will for ever last between you and the English. Since I began this letter, I am informed the fugitive French have offered to enter into your service. If you accept this offer, I shall conclude that you intend to favour the French, and desire to live no longer in friendship with me, especially as you have declined the assistance of the English troops, after strongly soliciting them.”

THE Admiral, not able to obtain any answer to this, sent another letter.

*The Admiral to the Nabob.**Kent, off Chander nagore, 2d of April, 1757.*

“ I HAVE been informed that you express some uneasiness at our ships remaining at this settlement, and our army being encamped near Houghley. I find that our enemies have taken the advantage of your uneasiness, and endeavoured to persuade you our troops propose marching up in a hostile manner against you to Muxadabad. It is amazing to me, that any one should dare to impose so grossly on your understanding, without trembling at the consequence, should his arts be discovered. And it also surprizes me, that you should hearken to such idle stories. You, as a soldier, must know, that while I have enemies yet in your dominions, it would be very impolitic in me not to pursue them. Yet, if you will deliver up my enemies, and their effects, to me, my ships and troops shall immediately return to Calcutta; and then, and not before, shall I be convinced of your sincerity and resolution in abiding by the oath you have taken, of regarding my enemies as your own.”

THE day after the forwarding of the above, the Admiral received the following letter from the Nabob, though dated the 22d of March, 1757.

“ WHAT I have promised, and set my hand to, I will firmly maintain, nor in any respect deviate therefrom. All Mr. Watts’s demands, and whatsoever he has represented to me, I have complied with, and what remains shall be given up by the 15th of this moon. This Mr. Watts must have written to you, with all the particulars; but, notwithstanding all this, it appears to me, from many instances, that you seek to obliterate your agreement with me. The country within the territories of Houghley, Ingeley, Burdwan, and Nuddea, has been ravaged by your troops. For what cause is this? Add to this, that Govendram Metre wrote to Nundcomar, by the son of Bamden Gese, requiring him to deliver Colligant, as belonging to the districts of Calcutta, into his said Metre’s possession. What is the meaning of this? I am sure this has been done without your knowledge. In confidence of your engagement, I made peace; with the view of procuring the welfare of the country,

country, and to prevent the ruinous consequences which would befall the royal territories from both armies, and not that the people should be trampled upon, and the revenues obstructed.

“ YOUR endeavours should be, daily to strengthen more and more the friendship which has taken root betwixt us, and to that end, put a stop to the influence of this mischief-maker, and discountenance the aforefaid Metre, in such a manner, that he may not dare to say these things, nor be guilty of such false proceedings for the future. By the will of God, the agreement shall never be infringed upon my part. I have spoken to Mr. Watts fully on this subject; the particulars of which you will have in his letter.

“ P. S. I have just learned that the French are bringing a large force from the Deccan, to make war against you; for this reason I write to you, that if you stand in need of any forces of the government for your support, you will immediately acquaint me, and they shall be ready to join you whenever you shall have occasion for them.”

THIS produced the following reply:

The Admiral to the Nabob.

Dated Calcutta, 3d of April 1757.

“ THE letter you did me the honour to write the 22d of last month, did not come to my hands till this day. As the subject of it required an answer as soon as possible, I make no doubt but you have been surprised, at not having found any thing in my three last letters relating thereto. But this informs you of the true reason, and I hope will satisfy you of my readiness always to acknowledge the receipt of your favours. The assurances you continue to give me, of firmly maintaining the agreement between us, makes me hope you will listen to all the just demands in my last letters; as the delivering up my enemies into my hands, with all their effects, and complying with all the articles of the treaty: the latter part, you promise me, shall be done the 15th of this moon, which will be to-morrow, when I hope Mr. Watts will be able to write, and assure me you have fulfilled your promise. You tell me, that notwithstanding the order you have given for every thing being complied with, and fixing the day for its being done, yet it appears to you, from many instances,

stances, that I intend to break my agreement. You must suffer me to tell you, that your apprehensions of my not strictly abiding by the treaty I have made, are founded on false representations, made to you by Monichchund, to excuse himself from paying the revenues of the several countries you say have been pillaged by the English. How can this possibly be? when the English troops, since the happy peace made with you, have penetrated no farther into the Burdwan country, than marching from Bankebushar to Chandernagore, along the shore; and since the conquest of the French, a few armed men were sent after some fugitives a little way, but they have been ordered back some time since, and are returned.

“ OF this, upon very little reflection, you must be sensible; Why then will you hearken to those who seek every opportunity to deceive you, and make you believe such things, as are in their nature impossible? For how could the territories of Houghly, Ingely, Burdwan, and Nuddea, be ravaged by our troops, when the troops have been no farther than I have assured you? I am afraid the person who dares attempt the imposing on you so gross a falsehood as this, has reason to think you may easily be persuaded into a belief of any thing, that would serve as a pretence for your displeasure against the English; otherwise, I think, no one would presume to fill your ears with such false and idle stories. What you tell me relating to Govendzam Metre, you do me great justice in believing, he has acted in the manner he did, without my knowledge. You may be assured I will take pains to enquire into every circumstance of that matter, and will see that strict justice is done to you, and give Metre a severe rebuke for his late behaviour.

“ NEED I give you any farther assurances of my immovable resolution strictly to regard our treaty, and every moment to improve the friendship growing up between us? I hope not; I would willingly believe, you now know me sufficiently to place a confidence in what I say, without having any doubts of being deceived; which you may depend upon you never shall by me: deceit is detestable in the heart of an honest man, and much too low a practice for the true soldier to stoop to.

“ GIVE me leave to render you my thanks for your intelligence concerning the French from the Deccan, and your readiness in offering me assistance, if I should have occasion. Should the French leave the Deccan, and come into this country with such a number as to make the junction of our forces necessary, I then will do myself the honour to write to you
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on that business. In the mean time, if you would wish to preserve peace in your country, deliver up my enemies into my hands, and by that means they will be less able to oppose me, if such a force should arrive. This will convince me of the sincerity of your offer. It is now in your power to settle everlasting peace in your country; and if you suffer the opportunity to slip, it may never offer again. You see that God, by whose power all human events are determined, has given me the victory over my enemies. He seeth the justness of my cause, and therefore fighteth for me. Hesitate then no longer about the things I have written to you, but openly fulfil the oath you made before God and your prophet, of making my enemies your own; and let us evermore become one people. Then we shall see peace and tranquillity will flourish; for our enemies, beholding us cemented in unity, will not venture to bring war into the country.

“REFLECT on what I have written, and be assured, nothing is so much my desire, as to see peace and concord perfectly settled throughout the whole kingdom; and, to give you the strongest proofs of my sincerity, I have ordered the King’s ships down to Calcutta, as I heard such a measure would be acceptable to you. What can I say more?”

THE Nabob sent the following answer :

The Nabob to the Admiral, dated 14th of April 1757.

“YOUR letters, at several times, I have received with the news of your health, which has given me great pleasure. The purport of them I have duly understood; and for your satisfaction, and in observance of the agreement between us, to look upon each other’s enemies as our own, I have expelled Mr. Law, with all his adherents, from my country, and have given strict orders to all my Naibs and Fougedars, not to permit them to remain in any part of my dominions. I am ready, upon all occasions, to grant you my assistance. If the French ever enter the province with a great or small force, with a design of making war upon you, God and his prophets are between us, that whenever you write to me, I will be your ally, and join you with all my force. Rest satisfied in this point, and be assured of my resolution to remain inviolably by the promises which I have made in my letters,

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and in the treaty concluded betwixt us. With regard to the French factories and merchandize, I must acquaint your Excellency, that I have been informed, the French Company are indebted to the natives, and have several lacs belonging to my subjects in their hands; should I comply with your demands in delivering up the effects, how can I answer it to the creditors of the French. Your Excellency is my well-wisher and my friend; weigh all this affair, and return me your answer, that I may act accordingly.

“ I HAVE written before, and now repeat, that if the English Company want to establish their trade, do not write me what is not conformable to our agreement, by the instigation of self-interested and designing men, who want to break the peace between us. If you are not disposed to come to a rupture with me, you have my agreement under my hand and seal; when you write, look upon that, and write accordingly.

“ MR. Watts will inform you fully of all particulars: What shall I write more?

“ IF you desire to maintain the peace, write nothing contrary to the treaty.”

This letter, and daily instances of the Nabob's perfidious and hostile intentions, engaged the Admiral to address the Nabob more plainly, in a letter dated April 19, 1757.

“ I AM honoured with your letter of the 14th of this month, acquainting me with your having received, at several times, the letters I lately wrote you. Your forbearance, and not writing to me, hath not the appearance of that friendship, you would persuade me you have for my countrymen; and with regard to myself, I must take the liberty to say, I was more particularly intitled to a speedy answer to my letters, from my high rank and station; and I cannot help looking upon your neglect in this respect, but as a slight offered to the King, my master, who sent me into India to protect his subjects, and demand justice wheresoever they were oppressed.

“ I OBSERVE in your letter the following particulars, viz. “ that for my satisfaction, and according to our mutual agreement to look upon each other's enemies as our own, you have expelled Monsieur Law, and his adherents, from your dominions, and given strict orders, &c.” My brother, Mr. Watts, who is entrusted with all the Company's concerns, always writes me the particulars of your intended favours towards us; but I have never found that
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what he writes is put in execution, neither do I find that what you wrote me in your letter, dated the 22d of March, is yet complied with. You therein assured me, that you would fulfil all the articles you had agreed to, by the 15th of that moon. Have you ever yet complied with them all? No. How then can I place any confidence in what you write, when your actions are not correspondent with your promises? Or how can I reconcile your telling me in so sacred a manner, you will be my ally, and assist me with your forces against the French, when you have given a Perwannah to Mr. Law and his people, to go towards Patna, in order to escape me, and tell me it is for my satisfaction, and in observance of the mutual agreement, you have taken this measure? Is this an act of friendship? Or is it in this manner I am to understand you will assist me? Or am I to draw a conclusion from what you write, or from what you do? You are too wise not to know, when a man tells you one thing, and does the direct contrary, which you ought to believe. Why then do you endeavour to persuade me you will be my friend, when at the same time you give my enemies your protection, furnish them with ammunition, and suffer them to go out of your dominions with three pieces of cannon? Their effects I esteem a trifling circumstance, and as far as they will contribute to do justice to your people, who are creditors to the French Company, I have no objection to your seizing them for their use, for money is what I despise, and accumulating riches to myself is what I did not come here for.

“ BUT I have already told you, and now repeat it again, that while a Frenchman remains in this kingdom, I will never cease pursuing him; but if they will deliver themselves up, they shall find me merciful: and I am confident those who have already fallen into my hands, will do me the justice to say, they have been treated with a much greater generosity than is usual by the general custom of war.

“ IF you will reflect upon the oath you have taken, you cannot but join with me in what follows:—As soon as Cossimbuzar is properly garrisoned, to which place our troops will speedily begin their march, I desire you will grant a dustuck for the passage of two thousand of our soldiers by land to Patna. You may be assured they will do no violence, nor commit the least injury to the natives; the only design of sending them is to seize the French, and restore tranquillity and perfect peace in your kingdom, which can never be truly established in these dominions, while a war continues between us
and

and them. If you are apprehensive of any injury arising to your subjects from the march of our troops to Patna, send some of your trusty hircars to go with them, with orders to acquaint you, from time to time, with their transactions ; and I dare answer you will find their reports agreeable to what I now write you.

“ INSTEAD of sending Mr. Watts only ten guns, why did you not deliver up all that belonged to the Company ? I will not write you what is not conformable to our agreement, and which you suppose was by the instigation of self-interested and designing men : I must take the liberty to say, I never yet have written a syllable contrary to our agreement, and the oath and promise I have made ; and be assured it is not in the power of any artful or designing men to make me write any thing inconsistent with my honour. I ask nothing more than your fulfilling the articles of your agreement, and abiding by the oath you have taken ; this I have strongly urged you to do, because you have been very slow in the execution, and this surely I have a right to demand, so long as you neglect to perform it. If it is disagreeable to you to hear these things, put it out of my power ever to ask again, by your immediate compliance : and as you have desired me, when I write, to look upon our agreement, and take that for my guide, let me request you to compare my letters with my agreements, and with what you have promised ; and when you find me differ from that, or ask any thing contrary to it, then tax me therewith ; point out to me expressly, wherein I have deviated from this rule, and you shall find me ready to confess it as an error ; but till then you must excuse me from insisting on your having charged me wrongfully, and which, upon an examination of my letters, I make no doubt will appear to you too plain to be contradicted.

“ LET me again repeat to you, I have no other views than that of peace. The gathering together of riches is what I despise ; and I call on God, who sees and knows the spring of all our actions, and to whom you and I must one day answer, to witness to the truth of what I now write ; therefore, if you would have me believe that you wish peace as much as I do, no longer let it be the subject of our correspondence for me to ask for the fulfilment of the treaty, and you to promise and not perform it ; but immediately fulfil all your engagements : thus let peace flourish, and spread throughout all your country, and make your people happy in the re-establishment of their trade,

trade, which has suffered by a ruinous and destructive war. What can I say more?"

AFTER this letter the correspondence ceased on the part of the Admiral; and from the date thereof, to the month of June, the Nabob continued to give full proof that it was his design to embrace the first convenient opportunity of extirpating us. Hostile preparations were now made on each side; and on the 13th of June, things drew near to a crisis, when the Nabob sent the following and his last letter to the Admiral.

The Nabob's last Letter to the Admiral.

25th of Ramazan (13th of June) 1757.

“ **A**CCORDING to my promises, and the agreement made between us, I have duly rendered every thing to Mr. Watts, except a very small remainder, and had almost settled Monichchund's affair: notwithstanding all this, Mr. Watts, and the rest of the council of the factory at Cossimbuzar, under pretence of going to take the air in their gardens, fled away in the night. This is an evident mark of deceit, and of an intention to break the treaty; I am convinced it could not have happened without your knowledge, nor without your advice. I all along expected something of this kind, and for that reason I would not recall my forces from Plassey, expecting some treachery.

“ I PRAISE God, that the breach of the treaty has not been on my part: God and his prophet have been witnesses to the contract made between us, and whoever first deviates from it, will bring upon themselves the punishment due to their actions.”

THESE letters are taken from a publication on India affairs by Mr. Ives, who was with Admiral Watson at the time; to whom the reader is also indebted for the following information, extracted from that gentleman's writings.

C H A P. VI.

Of the measures for deposing Surajah Dowla.—The battle of Plassey, and the advancement of Meer Jaffier to the government of Bengal.

SURAJAH DOWLA, after his taking Calcutta, had behaved with such insolence and cruelty towards his own subjects, that several considerable persons of his court entered into a confederacy to depose him. He had displayed the severity of his temper in so many instances, as to strike an universal terror; and from the fickleness of his disposition, none near him, and in his power, could think himself safe. Meer Jaffier Ali Khan, a man of great power and influence (and who had married the sister of Surajah's predecessor and grandfather, Aliverde Caun) conducted the design of depriving the Nabob of that power he so greatly abused; he was seconded in it by Roydullub, general of horse, and by Jugget-see, banker to the Nabob, and esteemed the richest merchant in all India. These three leading men soon communicated their designs to Mr. Watts, the English resident at the Durbar, or Nabob's court, and he to Colonel Clive and the secret Committee at Calcutta. The chiefs there did not hesitate long about coming into the scheme. Great dexterity, as well as secrecy, being necessary in executing the plan for a revolution, the whole management thereof was left to Colonel Clive and to Mr. Watts. To avoid suspicion, it was necessary that Mr. Watts should not be observed to have frequent intercourse with Jaffier; he therefore entrusted one Omichund, a Gentoo merchant, with the secret, and through him carried on his correspondence with Meer Jaffier. Omichund was a man of deep cunning and insatiable avarice; and after the plot was so far advanced, that a treaty was just on signing with Meer Jaffier, Omichund demanded a quarter part of all the Nabob's treasure, which was supposed to amount to 64 crore, or 80 millions sterling. His final terms were 30 lack of rupees for himself, by a special article in the treaty; and he made no scruple to assure Mr. Watts, that if his demand was not complied with, he would instantly inform the Nabob of our schemes, when every Englishman within his reach would certainly be put to the severest death. In this dilemma, Mr. Watts applied to Meer Jaffier, who was determined not to accede

accede to such terms, if any means of obviating them could be devised. Mr. Watts then wrote to the select Committee, who seeing the fate of all depended upon temporizing with Omichund, and being at the same time unwilling to submit to his terms, contrived that two treaties should be sent up to Meer Jaffier, who was to be let into the secret. One treaty, the real one, to be abided by; the other fictitious, but with no other difference than that it contained the 30 lack for Omichund. The real treaty was executed privately with Meer Jaffier; the fictitious treaty was executed also by him in the presence of Omichund, who was thereupon perfectly satisfied. It may be necessary here also to observe, that this fictitious treaty was signed by Colonel Clive and all the select Committee; Admiral Watson did not chuse to sign it, because he had signed the real treaty. A strict principle of delicacy, which with him was superior to any point of policy, operated too strongly on his mind to permit him to join even in a deception of this nature: however, while he manifested no displeasure against the actors, all classes of people, from their knowledge of Omichund's avarice and treachery, applauded the artifice by which he was outwitted.

On the 12th of June advice was received from Meer Jaffier and the other confederates, that all was in readiness with them: the die was cast, and on the 13th of June the whole army marched forwards; and the Colonel wrote to the Soubah, the very day of his march, to the following purport: That from his great reputation for justice, and faithful observance of his word, he had been induced to make peace with him, and to pass over the loss of many crores of rupees, sustained by the English in the capture of Calcutta; and to rest content with whatever he in his justice and generosity should restore to them: that his Excellency had not thought fit to set any value on the friendship of the English, but had in every thing discouraged as much as possible the Company's business, by turning their Vacqueel disgracefully from his presence, and refusing free passage to the English through his country, intercepting their trade, and searching their factory at Cossimbuzar, for ammunition and warlike stores, on pretence of their intending an attempt on his life, in the time of profound peace; threatening them with war if they did not submit to the search. That these were but trifles, however, compared to his open and avowed protection of the King's enemies, of which his letters to Monf. Buffy, wrote but a few days after his entering into a solemn treaty with us, inviting him to his country, was a flagrant proof:

proof: that his protection, and allowance of ten thousand rupees per month, to Monf. Law, and many other circumstances, were not only so many deviations from the treaty, but evidently shewed his Excellency's intention to fall upon the English, as soon as the absence of their troops and fleet might expose them to it: that the main article of the treaty was infringed, in his proffering only a fifth part of the sum paid into the treasury for the plunder of Calcutta, and yet demanding a discharge for the whole. The Colonel complained bitterly of so many insults put upon him, and reminded the Soubahdar how different his own conduct was, when called upon to assist him against the Pyrans.

He solemnly declared, that his intentions were, to have fought to the last drop of his blood; but, seeing his Excellency had chosen his friends from among his enemies, and had in every respect deviated from his engagements, he had determined, with the approbation of all who were charged with the Company's affairs, to proceed immediately to Cossimbuzar, and submit their disputes to the arbitration of Meer Jaffier, Roydullub, Jugget-see, and others of his great men; that if it should be found that he, the Colonel, had deviated from the treaty, he then swore to give up all farther claims; but that, if it appeared his Excellency had broken it, he should demand satisfaction for all the losses sustained by the English, and all the charges of their army and navy; and concluded with telling him, "That the rains being near, and as it would require many days to receive an answer, he had found it necessary to wait upon him immediately."

Our army consisted of seven hundred and fifty military (including one hundred topasses,) about one hundred and fifty of the train (including fifty sailors, with seven midshipmen, under the command of Lieutenant Hayter,) two thousand one hundred seapoys, (in all three thousand one hundred men) eight pieces of cannon, six pounders, and one haubitzer. The Europeans and artillery were embarked in boats, and the seapoys marched on to the northward through Houghley. The Bridgewater also sailed up the river as far as Houghley, to keep that place in awe, and to preserve a communication between the Colonel and the squadron. The Admiral's first Lieutenant, Mr. John Clerke, with a detachment of one hundred and fifty seamen, garrisoned Chandernagore, and the ships effectually secured Calcutta from any kind of insult, while a few troops were appointed to guard the French prisoners.

THESE previous measures being taken, the army marched towards Muxadabad.

dabad. On the 14th of June, Mr. Watts and other gentlemen, with thirty foldiers who had made their escape from Cossimbuzar, arrived at the army; and on the 18th Major Coote (lately promoted from the rank of Captain) was sent forward with a detachment of two hundred Europeans, five hundred seapoys, one field-piece, and a haubitzer, to reduce Cutwah, a fort belonging to the Nabob, situated on the bank of Cossimbuzar river, about half a mile in circumference. As he was reconnoitring the place, one of the foldiers of the party suddenly grew delirious; and while in the agonies of death made so great a noise, as to discover to the enemy where they were; on which they began a brisk firing, and obliged the Major, for the present, to alter his position; but he presently afterwards made a lodgement on a large bastion, and the next day, after some opposition, the enemy abandoned the fort, and left fourteen pieces of cannon of different calibres, and a large quantity of grain and ammunition.

WHEN the army was within two days march of Muxadabad, Colonel Clive received some disagreeable advices from Meer Jaffier, which he immediately laid before a council of war, summoned upon the occasion, the majority of whose members were of the Colonel's opinion, that he ought not to advance any farther: he therefore halted where he was, and sent an express to Calcutta, desiring fresh orders. However, the same evening Colonel Clive received a second message from Meer Jaffier, assuring him of his due performance of the articles mentioned in the treaty, but informing him that he was so surrounded with spies, as to be obliged to act with the greatest caution. This intelligence soon determined the Colonel to push on; and that very night, without waiting for any instructions from Calcutta, he gave orders for the army to hold themselves in readiness to march the next morning; when, leaving a subaltern officer with all the sick at Cutwah, he broke up his camp, and marched towards the enemy, through water almost to the foldiers' middles, the rainy season being now set in. At six o'clock in the morning the army crossed a river, and marched about two miles farther, to a grove, where they halted till evening; about four the next morning, the whole army reached Plassey-grove, after a very fatiguing march, and through a whole night's rain. Advice having been brought to the Colonel, on his arrival at the grove, that the Nabob's vanguard, consisting of six thousand men, was within three miles of our army, he ordered an advance guard of two hundred Europeans, and three hundred seapoys, with two pieces of can-

non, to post themselves at Plassey-house; and several guards of seapoys, at proper distances from each other, round the grove.

At day-break of the 23d, the Nabob's army was perceived marching out of their lines towards the grove, which we were in possession of: their intention seemed to be to surround us. The Colonel hereupon formed his army; the Europeans he filed off in four divisions; the first he put under the command of Major Kilpatrick; the second under Major Grant; the third under Major Coote; and the fourth under Captain Gaupp: the seapoys were formed on the right and left. Plassey-grove is surrounded by a bank; our army's left flank was covered by Plassey-house, and the river and the right flank by the grove.

THE enemy's army kept marching towards ours in deep columns, supported by a large train of artillery, consisting of fifty-three pieces of cannon, chiefly of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders. Their manœuvres, upon this occasion, differed materially from those they had been accustomed to; for, instead of posting their artillery all together, as was their usual practice, they disposed them between the divisions of their troops, and had not above two or three pieces of cannon on a spot; so that an attack upon any one part of their artillery could not have been decisive. In this order they continued marching as far as the river would permit; but as soon as their rear was out of the camp, failing in their plan to surround us, they halted; and a body of about fifty French, advancing in front of a large detachment of their army, commanded by Meer Modun, one of their principal generals, with four pieces of cannon, lodged themselves within the banks of a tank (or pond of water) distant from us about six hundred yards, and began a brisk cannonade.

OUR little army was at first drawn up without the bank which surrounded the grove, but soon found such a shower of balls pouring upon them from the enemy's cannon, that the Colonel thought proper they should retire under cover of the bank, leaving two field-pieces without, while the other four were kept playing through the breaches in the bank. Our left wing was still covered by Plassey-house, which was about fifty yards distant, and close to the river-side.

IN this situation both armies remained till about twelve o'clock, when a heavy shower of rain falling, the enemy's horse advanced, as if to take advantage of it; but when they found that our field-pieces continued firing,
notwithstanding

notwithstanding the rain, their ardour was checked. The rain ceasing, the cannonading continued till about three in the afternoon, when they retired without confusion to their old camp, their artillery marching first. And now a large corps on the left of our troops was seen moving, in such a manner as to make it doubtful whether their aim was to possess themselves of the village to the left, against us, or whether they were friends, and wanted to join our army, but they proved afterwards to be friends under Meer Jaffier's command; however, as no signal had been agreed on (owing to the miscarriage of a messenger, which he had dispatched to the Colonel in the morning) they were kept at a distance by our field-pieces. After this retreat of the enemy, Colonel Clive, leaving orders with Major Kilpatrick to send him notice if the Nabob should make any new motions, went into Plassey-house to put on dry cloaths, and consider whether, notwithstanding the fatigue which his troops had already undergone, he should attack the Nabob's camp, or defer it till night.

DURING this interval, information was brought to the Colonel, that a detachment of our army, with some field-pieces, was marching towards the before-mentioned tank and eminence, at about the distance of six hundred yards, which had been possessed by the French, but who abandoned it when the army of Surajah Dowla retired to their camp. Colonel Clive expressed his surprize that such a step should have been taken without his orders, and immediately hastened after the detachment, which he reached nearly at the same time it arrived at the tank. He now found that this detachment was commanded by Major Kilpatrick; whom he at first ordered under arrest, but was pacified by the Major's making him an apology.

THE Colonel then ordered Major Kilpatrick back to the grove, and took the command of the detachment himself, resolving, since such a step had been taken, not to make any retreat, but rather to bring on a second action, and make it decisive. He therefore ordered a reinforcement from the main body in the grove; upon which Major Coote, with his detachment, joined the Colonel. The Colonel then sent the King's grenadiers, and a grenadier company of seapoys, to lodge themselves behind a bank that was close upon the enemy's lines; from whence they kept a continual fire with their small arms, as did the detachment at the tank, with four pieces of cannon.

IN the mean time the enemy's infantry and cavalry pushed out towards our several little bodies of troops, and endeavoured to bring their heavy artillery

to bear; but they met with so warm a reception, and lost so many draught-oxen and drivers, that they failed in their attempt. When the infantry and cavalry had faced our troops for some time, and stood a very smart cannonading, in which they lost a great number of men and horses, it was observed they were in some confusion, and that their elephants grew very unruly. The Colonel took immediate advantage of this critical moment, and sent orders to Major Coote to attack a large body of horse and foot upon a rising ground, at about the distance of 150 yards, and ordered another officer at the same time to storm the angle of the camp. Both these attempts succeeded; the enemy made but a faint resistance; Major Coote marched into their lines, and a general route ensued. The assailants pursued till it was dark, and then halted at Doudpore, a place about six miles distance from the field of battle, where they were joined by the rest of the army from Plassey-grove, under Major Kilpatrick, who, at the commencement of the route, received orders from the Colonel to march. The Nabob's army was computed to consist of twenty thousand horse, and forty thousand foot. Our loss was very inconsiderable; but he had about five hundred men killed, among whom was Meer Modun, whose death was the occasion of the confusion just mentioned. Their fifty-three pieces of cannon, of eighteen, twenty-four, and thirty-two pounders, fell into our hands, with their camp, baggage, and elephants.

WHILE our army was pursuing, a large body of horse was observed on our right; after firing a few shot at them, a messenger arrived with a letter from Meer Jaffier to the Colonel, acquainting him, that the corps was under his command, and requesting an interview that night or the next morning. Accordingly the next day he had an interview with the Colonel; when, after congratulating him on his victory, he declared himself ready to perform the articles between them. The Colonel saluted him as Soubah of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and advised him to advance immediately to Muxadabad, after Surajah Dowla, promising that he would follow to support him with his whole force. Surajah Dowla reached his capital, which was twenty miles distant from the field of battle, a few hours after his defeat; and the next evening, not knowing whom to trust, or what to do, abandoning himself to his fears, he disguised himself in the habit of a Faquier, and, with one or two attendants, attempted to make his escape. Meer Jaffier immediately entered the palace, where all was anarchy and confusion; but presently Messrs. Watts and Walsh arrived from the Colonel, to pacify the inhabitants, and assure them

them of protection: and on the 27th of June, Colonel Clive made his public entry into Muxadabad. Meer Jaffier visited the Colonel the next day; and the 29th Colonel Clive went to the palace, and in the presence of the Rajahs and grandees of the Court, he solemnly handed him to the Musnud, or carpet, and throne of state, where he was unanimously saluted Soubah, or Nabob, and received the submission of all present. The remaining part of the month was spent in settling many important matters, consequent to such an amazing revolution.

ON the 26th of July the new Nabob sent presents, after the custom of the country, and of the East in general, to the Admiral, consisting of an elephant, two fine horses, a rich Moorish dress of gold, with turbans and sashes; and a rose and plume composed of diamonds, rubies, sapphires, and emeralds. Admiral Pocock was also complimented with a present of the same kind. Admiral Watson received the Ambassadors, on this occasion, with marks of great respect; he made presents of fine cloth and velvet to each in return; dressed his ships, displaying as many flags, of different nations, as could be disposed of on the yards, masts, and rigging of the ships, saluted them with his cannon, and wrote the following congratulatory letter to the Nabob:

Admiral Charles Watson, Commander of the fleet belonging to the most puissant King of Great Britain, irresistible in battle, to the Nabob Shujah Al Muluk Hassam O'Dowlah Meer Mahomed Jaffier Ali Khan Bakadar Mahabut Jung.

“**M**IRZA JAFFIER BEG, whom you have done me the honour to depute to me, has delivered me your letter, and other marks of friendship, with which you have been pleased to favour me. He has also satisfied my desire, in giving me an ample account of your health and prosperity. But what pleases me beyond expression, is, to hear that all men rejoice in them; and, while they acknowledge you are worthy of them, pray for their continuance. This is a satisfaction your predecessor never knew; and which, while it gives the most sublime pleasure to a mind generous like your's, promises happiness to yourself, and a quiet succession to your son.

“ How

“ How much I and all my countrymen wish it, can only be known by the benefits you have conferred on us; the extent of which can alone be measured by your generosity, and our gratitude. May day by day make known the latter, to your content and our honour!”

THE conduct of the servants of our East India Company becoming the subject of public enquiry, the information given by Lord Clive, of what passed from the time of his going with Admiral Watson to retake Calcutta, to the placing Meer Jaffier in the government, is as follows:

Lord Clive's Account of the retaking of Calcutta, and of the terms agreed on for a revolution, &c. given to the Committee of the House of Commons in 1772.

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE.

THE Right Honourable Lord Clive, being desired to relate what he knew of the transaction of the above period, said, That when he returned to England in 1755, the first time, the Court of Directors solicited him to go out again. They obtained for him his Majesty's commission of Lieutenant Colonel, and appointed him Deputy Governor of Fort St. David, and to succeed to the government of Madras. But before he went to his government, they wished him to undertake an expedition of great importance, provided Colonel Scott (who had been strongly recommended by the Duke of Cumberland) did not chuse to undertake the expedition himself.—The intent of the expedition was, to join the Mharattas at Bombay, and, in conjunction with them, to attack the French in the Soubah of the Decan; for which he carried out three companies of the King's artillery, and three or four hundred of the King's troops. That when he arrived at Bombay, in the beginning of the year 1756, there was a truce between the two nations, and Colonel Scott was dead.—He found there Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock, with his squadron.—It was thought advisable that these troops should not lie idle, and that there was a fair opportunity of taking Ghereeah, a strong fort possessed by an Eastern Prince (Angria) and who, upon all occasions, very much

distressed the Company. That he commanded the land troops on that expedition, and Mr. Watson commanded by sea. The enterprize succeeded, and the prize-money amounted to an hundred and fifty thousand pounds. That although he commanded the land forces, by virtue of his rank he shared only as a Captain of a man of war. Admiral Watson thought his case so hard, that he very generously offered to make his share equal to Sir George Pocock's. He thought himself as much obliged to him for the offer, as if he had accepted it, but he declined the offer. That after that, he went to his deputy government at Fort Saint David, about April 1756; that in August 1756 he was called from thence to Madras, on the news of the capture of Calcutta. It was long debated by the council what force should be sent to retake Calcutta, and who should command it. It was decided in his favour, and the wish of every officer, that he should go upon that expedition. In the beginning of October the troops were ready, and there were received on board Admiral Watson's squadron, and other transports, about seven hundred Europeans belonging to the Company, and twelve hundred seapoys: there was likewise a detachment of two hundred and fifty of Abercrom's regiment, to serve as marines. That they embarked about the 15th of October; and after they had been some time at sea, a council was held on board Admiral Watson's ship, to settle the distribution of prize-money, and it was proposed it should be settled upon the same plan it was at Ghereah. That he objected to it, because he thought it bore too hard upon the military, and would not consent to a division of prize-money, upon any other division than of two equal parts, that one half should go to the military, and the other to the navy. This was agreed to; and they arrived at Ballasore-road early in December; and it was agreed that the squadron should go up the river to Calcutta: and he looks upon that attempt to be as daring and meritorious an attempt as ever was made in his Majesty's sea-service. That when the squadron came within a few miles of Calcutta, he desired Admiral Watson would give orders for landing the Company's troops; accordingly they were landed; and at the same time the ships went by water, the troops went by land. The garrison of Calcutta, upon the approach of the ships, and of the land forces, abandoned the fort, after a few shot fired by the squadron, and a few returned by the fort. That when he entered the fort at the head of the Company's troops, Captain Coote presented him a commission from Admiral Watson, appointing him the Governor of the fort. That he denied any authority Admiral Watson had to appoint an inferior officer in the

King's service Governor of the fort, and told Captain Coote, if he disobeyed his orders, he would put him under arrest. Captain Coote obeyed, and desired leave to acquaint Admiral Watson with these particulars; upon which Admiral Watson sent Captain Speke to him, to know by what authority he took upon himself the command of that fort; he answered, by the authority of his Majesty's commission as Lieutenant Colonel, and being commander in chief of the land forces. Captain Speke went on board with that message: he returned, and brought for answer, that if he did not abandon the fort, he should be fired out. In answer, he said he could not answer for the consequences, but that he would not abandon the fort; upon which Captain Latham was sent; and when the matter was talked over coolly, it was soon settled, for he told Captain Speke and Captain Latham repeatedly, that if Admiral Watson would come and command himself, he had no manner of objection. That Admiral Watson did come on shore: he delivered the keys of the garrison into his hands, and he delivered them to the Governor and Council of Calcutta. His Lordship further said, That he was sent from Madras with a power independent of the Governor and Council of Calcutta; he commanded in Bengal as the King's officer and the Company's both; the King's troops, when on shore, were under him: he was commander in chief of the Company's forces in Bengal, by a commission from the Governor and Council of Madras, on his setting out on that expedition. The Governor and Council of Madras looked on the government of Bengal as annihilated: they thought, if he had not the independent command, the Governor and Council of Bengal would retain the troops, which they thought necessary should return to Madras. He took the command as a military officer: the Governor and Council of Calcutta put their troops under his orders.

THAT when he came to examine into the state of the fort, he found it was not defensible; it had no ditch; the bastions did not deserve the name of bastions; the fort was surrounded by houses, within forty yards of the walls, which commanded the fortifications. That he suggested to the Governor and Council the necessity of destroying them, and making a ditch round the fort, without delay. That he was convinced that a defensive war would prove destructive. He desired Admiral Watson would land the King's troops, to reinforce those of the Company. Great part of the forces that went out from Madras, upon this expedition, were not arrived. The Admiral landed the King's forces, amounting to two hundred and fifty men; and those, added to the Company's,

pany's, might make seven hundred Europeans, and twelve hundred seapoys. That with these troops they took the field at about four miles from Calcutta, and encamped in a strong situation, and entrenched themselves, in expectation of Surajah Dowla and his army, who were upon their march to Calcutta. Surajah Dowla in a few days arrived; passed within about half a mile of their camp, and encamped his army at the back of Calcutta. At the same time that he was marching to this ground, he made offers of treaty, and intimated to him by letters, that he wished to conclude a peace with the East India Company. He encamped, about six o'clock in the evening, at the back of Calcutta. By this time, the terror of his march had frightened away all the natives, and his Lordship saw, if something was not done, the squadron and land forces would soon be starved out of the country. That he sent Mr. Walfsh and Mr. Scrafton to the Nabob, about seven that evening; they returned about eleven, and assured him, they thought the Nabob was not sincere in his intentions for peace, and that he meant treachery. That he went immediately on board Admiral Watfon's ship, and represented to him the necessity of attacking the Nabob without delay; and desired the assistance of four or five hundred sailors to carry the ammunition; which he assented to. The sailors were landed about one o'clock in the morning; about two the troops were under arms, and about four they marched to the attack of the Nabob's camp. It was his intentions to have seized his cannon, and attacked his headquarters; but when day-light appeared, there rose so thick a fog, that it was impossible for the army to see three yards before them, which continued till we had marched through the whole army. He cannot ascertain the loss the enemy suffered, but it was reported very considerable: our loss amounted to about an hundred and fifty killed and wounded. That they continued their march to the fort, where the troops were allowed an hour to rest, and ordered back to camp. In the evening Surajah Dowla and his army got to about eight or ten miles from them; he sent a letter to him and Admiral Watfon, that he desired to treat with them; upon which it was agreed to receive his proposals without delay; and a treaty was concluded, which is upon the Company's records. The reason that it was not more advantageous than it was, was that they had just received advice of a war with France, and the French had within the garrison of Chandernagore almost as many Europeans as they had in the field; and if they had joined Surajah Dowla before the conclusion of the peace, they must have been undone; for there wanted only some intelligent person to advise

him not to fight at all, and they should have been ruined. While this treaty was carrying on, the French sent a deputation to propose a neutrality; it being long debated whether a neutrality should be accepted of, Surajah Dowla forbid the English to attack the French, and declared, if they did, he would become their enemy. That he had no doubt but he would become their enemy the first opportunity that offered; and that he meant, by their assistance, to drive them out of Bengal. He supplied them with money publicly, and sent fifteen hundred men to be ready to give them their assistance. During this time, a reinforcement of troops was received from Bombay; and it was taken into consideration by the Committee, whether they should undertake the attack of Chandernagore, at the risk of displeasing the Nabob, and having his army to encounter. That the members of this Committee were Mr. Drake, himself, Major Kilpatrick, and Mr. Becher. Mr. Becher gave his opinion for a neutrality, Major Kilpatrick for a neutrality, his Lordship gave his opinion for the attack of the place; Mr. Drake gave an opinion that nobody could make any thing of. Major Kilpatrick then asked him, Whether he thought the forces and squadron could attack Chandernagore and the Nabob's army at the same time? He said, he thought they could; upon which Major Kilpatrick desired to withdraw his opinion, and to be of his Lordship's. They voted Mr. Drake's no opinion at all; and Major Kilpatrick and he being the majority, a letter was wrote to Admiral Watson, desiring him to co-operate in the attack on Chandernagore. The land forces marched first, and beset the place, made themselves masters of the outworks, and erected two batteries, one about an hundred and twenty yards from the walls, of six 32 pounders, and another of three 32 pounders, about an hundred and fifty yards from the walls. By this time the squadron came up the river. That they surmounted difficulties, which he believed no other ships could have done; and it is impossible for him to do the officers of the squadron justice upon that occasion. The place surrendered to them, and it was in a great measure taken by them; but his Lordship does believe that the place would have been taken by the army, if the squadron had not come up: it must have fallen into their hands, but not so soon. And he must say, that he thinks, if the land forces and seapoys could have been landed in Calcutta, every event which has happened, would have happened without the assistance of the fleet. That after Chandernagore was resolved to be attacked, he repeatedly said to the Committee, as well as to others, that they could not stop there, but must go further: that having established

established themselves by force, and not by consent of the Nabob, he would endeavour by force to drive them out again. That they had numberless proofs of his intention; and his Lordship said, he did suggest to Admiral Watson and Sir George Pocock, as well as to the Committee, the necessity of a revolution. Mr. Watson and the gentlemen of the Committee agreed upon the necessity of it; and the management of that revolution was, with consent of the Committee, left to Mr. Watts and him. Mr. Watts was resident at Muxadabad: he corresponded with him in cypher, and his Lordship sent the intelligence to the Governor and Committee; and Mr. Watson was always consulted, but declined being a member of that Committee. Great dissatisfaction arising among Surajah Dowla's troops, a favourable opportunity offered, and Meer Jaffier was pitched upon to be the person to place in the room of Surajah Dowla. In consequence of which a treaty was formed, which, amongst others, consisted of the following articles: That one million two hundred thousand pounds should be given to the Company; six hundred thousand pounds to the European sufferers; six hundred thousand pounds to the navy and army; about two hundred and fifty thousand to the natives of the country; and about one hundred thousand to the Armenians. When this was settled, his Lordship remembers that Mr. Becher suggested to the Committee, that he thought that Committee, who managed the great machine of government, was intitled to some consideration, as well as the navy and army. In consequence of which, Mr. Watts wrote upon the subject; but what that consideration was, he never knew till after the battle of Plassey; and when he was informed of it by Mr. Watts, he thought it too much, and proposed that the Council should have a share in it: the sums received were, he believed, as Mr. Becher had stated. Upon this being known, Mr. Watson applied, that he was intitled to a share in that money. He agreed in opinion with the gentlemen, when this application was made, that Mr. Watson was not one of the Committee; but at the same time did justice to his services, and proposed to the gentlemen, to contribute as much as would make his share equal to the Governor's and his own. About three or four consented to it, but the rest would not. His Lordship observed, that at that time there were no covenants existing; the Company's servants were at liberty to receive presents; they always had received presents; and his idea of presents is as follows: When presents are received as the price of services to the nation, to the Company, and to that Prince who bestowed those presents; when they
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are not exacted from him by compulsion; when he is in a state of independence, and can do with his money what he pleases; and when they are not received to the disadvantage of the Company; he holds presents so received not dishonourable. But when they are received from a dependent Prince; when they are received for no services whatever; and when they are received not voluntarily, he holds the receipt of such presents dishonourable. He never made the least secret of the presents he had received, he acquainted the Court of Directors with it; and they, who are his masters, and were the only persons who had a right to object to his receiving those presents, approved of it.

Every thing being agreed on between Meer Jaffier and the secret Committee, we marched the army to meet the Nabob, whom we entirely defeated. His death followed soon after, and Meer Jaffier was, in a few days, in possession of the government, and of a revenue of three millions and a half sterling per annum. The one half of the secret Committee being then present at the capital, and a report made by the Nabob's ministers of the state of the treasury, it was settled, that half the sum stipulated by treaty should be paid in three months, and the other half in three years, all conditionally, that we support him in the government. The Nabob then, agreeable to the known and usual custom of Eastern Princes, made presents, both to those of his own court, and such of the English, who by their rank and abilities had been instrumental in the happy success of so hazardous an enterprize, suitable to the rank and dignity of a great Prince.—I was one amongst the many who benefited by his favour. I never sought to conceal it; but declared publicly in my letters to the secret Committee of the India Directors, that the Nabob's generosity had made my fortune easy, and that the Company's welfare was now my only motive for staying in India. The Company had acquired a million and a half sterling, and a revenue of near an hundred thousand pounds per annum, from the success of their forces under my command, when ample restoration had been made to those whose fortunes suffered by the calamity of Calcutta. It is well known to every gentleman in Bengal, that the honour of my country, and the interest of the Company, were the principles that governed all my actions; and that, had I only taken the advantageous opportunities that presented themselves, by my being commander in chief, and at the head of a victorious army; and what by the custom of that country I was intitled to, the jaghire itself, great as it is, would have been an object scarce worth my consideration.

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THE city of Muxadabad is as extensive, populous, and rich, as the city of London, with this difference, that there are individuals in the first, possessing infinitely greater property than any in the last city; these, as well as other men of property, made me the greatest offers (which nevertheless are usual upon such occasions, and what they expected would have been required) and had I accepted these offers, I might have been in possession of millions, which the present court of Directors could not have dispossessed me of; but, preferring the reputation of the English nation, the interest of the Nabob, and the advantage of the Company, to all pecuniary considerations, I refused all offers that were made me, not only then but to the last hour of my continuance in the Company's service in Bengal.

Lord Clive's account of the fictitious treaty with Omichund, for his assistance in bringing about the revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier.

LORD CLIVE informed the Committee, that when Mr. Watts had nearly accomplished the means of carrying that revolution into execution, he acquainted him by letter, that a fresh difficulty had started; that Omichund had insisted upon three per cent. on all the Nabob's treasures, and thirty lacks in money, and threatened, if he did not comply with that demand, he would immediately acquaint Surajah Dowla with what was going on, and Mr. Watts should be put to death.—That when he received this advice, he thought art and policy warrantable in defeating the purposes of such a villain, and that his Lordship himself formed the plan of the fictitious treaty, to which the Committee consented: it was sent to Admiral Watson, who objected to the signing of it; but, to the best of his remembrance, gave the gentleman who carried it (Mr. Lushington) leave to sign his name upon it;—That his Lordship never made any secret of it; he thinks it warrantable in such a case, and would do it again a hundred times; he had no interested motive in doing it, and did it with a design of disappointing the expectations of a rapacious man;—That Omichund was employed only as an agent to Mr. Watts, as having most knowledge of Surajah Dowla's court, and had commission to deal with three or four more of the court; and did not believe that Omichund was personally known to Meer Jaffier but through Mr. Watts.

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WHEN the army marched, Meer Jaffier had promised that he and his son would join them with a large force at Cutwa :—when they arrived there, they saw no appearance of force to join them ; but received letters from Meer Jaffier, informing him, that the Nabob had suspected his designs, and made him swear on the Koran, that he would not act against him ; and therefore he could not give that promised assistance ; but that when they met Surajah Dowla in the field, he would then act : at the same time Omichund received two or three letters from the Nabob's camp, that the affair was discovered, and that Meer Jaffier and the Nabob were one :—that his Lordship was much puzzled, for he thought it extremely hazardous to pass a river which is only fordable in one place, march one hundred and fifty miles up the country, and risk a battle, when, if a defeat ensued, not one man would have returned to tell it. In this situation he called a council of war ; and the question he put was, Whether they should cross the river and attack Surajah Dowla with their own forces alone, or wait for further intelligence ? Every member gave their opinion against the attack, till they had received further intelligence, except Captains Coote and Grant. His Lordship observed, this was the only council of war that ever he held, and, if he had abided by that council, it would have been the ruin of the East India Company. After about twenty-four hours mature consideration, his Lordship said, he took upon himself to break through the opinion of the council, and ordered the army to cross the river ; and what he did upon that occasion, he did without receiving advice from any one.

LORD CLIVE further said, that Mr. Watts was two or three months employed in the negotiation of the revolution ; and the correspondence was carried on entirely between himself and Mr. Watts ; that he did not know exactly the amount of the treasure of Surajah Dowla, but believed about three or four millions ; that the final terms of the agreement between Meer Jaffier and Mr. Watts, were not agreed on till a few days before the march of the army ; that Mr. Lushington was the person who signed Admiral Watson's name, by his Lordship's order.

JOHN WALSH, Esq; being here called by the Committee to give an account of what he knew of the fictitious treaty, said, that he and Mr. Lushington went together to Calcutta with the treaty, with a letter from Colonel Clive ; and that his idea had always been, that Admiral Watson refused to sign the fictitious treaty, but permitted Mr. Lushington to do it for him :

that the fictitious treaty was wrote on red paper; and he remembered Omichund was very earnest in his enquiry after that particular paper, after the Nabob was put upon the Musnud.

LORD CLIVE further acquainted the Committee, that all the letters in cypher, which passed between Mr. Watts and himself, are not entered in the country correspondence, or any where else; that he had got some of the letters; but did not know whether he had the letter wherein mention is made of Omichund's demand of five per cent. on the treasures, and thirty lack; that the fictitious treaty, to the best of his remembrance, stated thirty lack, and five per cent. upon the treasures; it might be fifty lack for aught he knows. That he believes the letter relating to the donation to the army and navy, is entered or mentioned in one of his letters;—he did not recollect what he paid to the heirs of Admiral Watfon; that he wrote to the secret Committee in England, stating the donations to the navy and army, but not the donations to the Committee.—He wrote a private letter to Mr. Paine, then chairman, in which he mentioned the donations to the Committee; that he mentioned in his general letter, that the Nabob's bounty had made his fortune easy;—he knew of no stipulation by Mr. Watts, for fifty lack, or any other sum, besides the donation to the army and navy and select Committee; if there was any such sum, it was without his consent or knowledge.

IN regard to the fate of Surajah Dowla, his Lordship said, he had been informed that he fled, and took shelter in a sackier's house, whose nose and ears he had cut off upon a former occasion: that there was a brother of Meer Jaffier's at Rajamaul (a small distance from the place where he took refuge) that this sackier sent immediately notice to him, that he had Surajah Dowla in his house, and he should keep him till he could seize him; that the Nabob's brother immediately set out with a few attendants, and seized him, and that he was brought from thence to the city, and immediately put to death by Murham, Meer Jaffier's son; it is said without the father's knowledge; that his Lordship knew nothing of it till the next day, when the Nabob made him acquainted with it, and apologized for his conduct, by saying that he had raised a mutiny among his troops; and this was all his Lordship knew of the matter.

LORD CLIVE farther said, in regard to the fictitious treaty, that he did not recollect whether Mr. Lushington brought it back with Mr. Watfon's

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name to it; to the best of his remembrance, Mr. Lushington told him, that Admiral Watson gave him leave to sign his name to the fictitious treaty:—he did not recollect whether Mr. Watson's seal was put to it, but believes that Mr. Watson's name and a seal were put to both the treaties before they were dispatched to Mr. Watts; he is not certain whether Mr. Lushington signed in his presence at Calcutta, or the French gardens. Roydullub did not receive five per cent. on all the money paid, but on some of it; particularly not on that which was paid to the army and navy.—Roydullub was one of the Nabob's generals.

HIS Lordship being asked, What might be the particular value, in money or jewels, received by him and such other gentlemen as he may recollect? said, He received about sixteen lack of rupees clear, after deducting commission and all other articles; that he received no jewels, but all in money; that he believed Mr. Watts might receive all together about eight lack; Mr. Walsli about five; there were three or four more, but could not recollect the sums; that he thinks Mr. Scrafton had two lack, but is not certain. These donations were given exclusive of the sums stipulated for the gentlemen of the Committee, Council, army, and navy.—That the share he received as commander in chief, amounted to about two lack; Major Kilpatrick, he believed, had about three or four lack, exclusive of the sums stipulated for the army and Committee; Mr. Lushington had something very trifling, about fifty thousand rupees; Captain Grant had one lack.

HIS Lordship also said, that these presents were not paid down at the time, but by installments; and his Lordship being asked by what installments the presents, above those stipulated for the army, navy, Council, and Committee, were paid? he said, That he knew of no agreement, but they were paid half down, and half in about fifteen months, to the best of his remembrance.—And being further questioned, Whether, when the first half was paid down, his Lordship had any expectation of the remainder? he said, He had, from the intelligence of Mr. Watts, who acquainted him that the present for his share would amount to twenty lack, but he received only sixteen; that lands to the amount of seven hundred thousand pounds a year were mortgaged for payment of the remainder of the money stipulated by treaty; the mortgage, he believed, was made about December 1757, or the January following; that Sir George Pocock applied to the Governor and Council by letter, to desire that they would advance to the

the navy their remaining half of the fifty lack given to the navy and army, desiring that the Governor and Council would make such a deduction as they thought reasonable for the risk of advancing the money ;—that some sharp letters passed upon the occasion ; and, to the best of his remembrance, he was the only person of that Council who objected to that request being complied with ; and then, after it had been complied with, he made the same request in favour of the army, and not before ;—that the money deducted, to the best of his remembrance, was five lack, the remaining twenty lack was paid down by the Company for the navy and army.

LORD CLIVE went on to relate, that on the 22d of June 1757, in the evening, the army crossed the river, and marched all night, amidst incessant rains, until they reached Plassey-grove ; and early in the morning the army of Surajah Dowla attacked them in that situation. The battle being attended with so little bloodshed, arose from two causes : First, The army was sheltered by so high a bank that the heavy artillery of the enemy could not possibly do them much mischief. The other was, that Surajah Dowla had not confidence in his army, nor his army any confidence in him, and therefore they did not do their duty.—His Lordship said, that after the army was routed, Surajah Dowla, for the sake of expedition, fled to the city upon an elephant, which he reached that night, thirty miles from the field of battle.—That the troops pursued the routed army about nine miles, to a place called Doudpaur ; and in the evening Meer Jaffier sent him word, that he and many more of the great officers, and a very considerable part of the army, were in expectation of his orders ;—that he sent Messrs. Watts and Scrafton to wait upon him ; and he came to him the next morning, accompanied by his son, made many apologies to him for the non-performance of his agreement to join them, and said, his fate was in his hand. That he assured Meer Jaffier that the English would most religiously perform their treaty, and advised him to pursue Surajah Dowla without delay, and he would follow with the English army ; that when Surajah Dowla arrived at the city, his palace was full of treasure ; but with all that treasure he could not purchase the confidence of his army ; he was employed in lavishing considerable sums among his troops, to engage them to another battle ; about twelve at night the fatal news was brought him of Meer Jaffier's arrival at the city, closely followed by the English army ; he then in despair gave up all for lost, and made his escape out of one of the palace-windows, with only two or

three attendants; that the English army having encamped within about six miles of Muxadabad, his Lordship sent Messrs. Watts and Walsh to congratulate Meer Jaffier upon his success, and to know the time when he should enter the city; in consequence of which, the day was fixed upon, and he entered the city with two hundred Europeans, and five hundred seapoys;—that the inhabitants, who were spectators upon that occasion, must have amounted to some hundred thousands; and if they had had an inclination to have destroyed the Europeans, they might have done it with sticks and stones. On that day, continued his Lordship, being under no kind of restraint, but that of my own conscience, I might have become too rich for a subject; but I had fixed upon that period to accomplish all my views whatever, and from that period to this hour, which is a space of fifteen years, I have not benefited myself, directly or indirectly, the value of one shilling, the jaghire excepted; I have been placed in great and eminent stations, surrounded with temptations; the civil and military power were united in me; a circumstance which has never happened to any other man before that time, or since: the Committee will therefore judge, whether I have been moderate or immoderate in the pursuit of riches.

LORD CLIVE went on to relate, that a few days after his arrival at the city, Meer Jaffier was placed on the Musnud, and proclaimed Nabob of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and a day was fixed upon to consider the state of the Nabob's treasures, and to see how far he could comply with the treaty immediately: and after that state was known, this matter was left to be decided by the Seats, two men of immense wealth, and great influence; and it was agreed that half should be paid down, and the other half in three years;—that at this meeting was Omichund, and when the real treaty came to be read, the indignation and resentment expressed in that man's countenance, beats all description. He said, "This cannot be the treaty, it was a red treaty that I saw." That his Lordship replied, "Yes, Omichund, but this is a white treaty."—That this important business being accomplished, he returned to Calcutta with the army.

THE great authority of Allyverde Caun's government had so long established itself in the minds of his subjects, and all that authority being vested in the person of Surajah Dowla, that a revolution so sudden and unexpected, filled every one with terror and astonishment, which was kept up by the march of a considerable detachment, under the command of Captain

tain Coote, in pursuit of Monf. Laws, who marched from Patna at the head of an hundred French, the only remains of that nation in all the three provinces, to the assistance of the late Soubah, and were within a few hours march of him when he was taken prisoner; but they returned on Captain Coote's approach, who followed them till they had passed the boundaries of the Soubah's dominions. The Nabob of Patna was one Ramnaran, a Gentoo, faithfully attached to his late master, who, supposing Meer Jaffier would not confirm him in his government, was meditating a junction with the Soubah of Oude, the son of the late Visir, whose territories border on those of Patna. There was such evident proof of this, that Colonel Clive advised Meer Jaffier to displace him, which was approved, accepted, and the order sent.

BUT before this memorable revolution is done with, a few particulars as to the manner of Surajah Dowla's death, which came to light some months after, may be added.

SURAJAH DOWLA was taken on the 3d of July, after having wandered about, from the time he made his escape from his palace, forsaken and almost naked, and was brought back to his capital in the night. Meer Jaffier immediately held a council of his most intimate friends about the disposal of him; all agreed it would be dangerous to grant him his life, and that he should immediately be put to death, lest the English commander's clemency should plead for his preservation. Surajah Dowla received the dreadful sentence trembling; he wept bitterly, and pleaded hard for life on any terms; but when he found all entreaty in vain, he desired only a delay of a few moments to wash and say his prayers. His merciless executioners flung a pot of water over him, and dispatched him with their swords.—He shewed no mercy, and he had no mercy. He possessed the unjustly-acquired dominions of his grandfather fifteen months and a few days; and it was in the twenty-fifth year of his age when he fell under the unrelenting order given to his destroyers.

C H A P. VII.

The reign of Meer Jaffier.

NO sooner was Meer Jaffier advanced to the Soubahship, than he began to feel his own strength, and to look on us rather as rivals than allies; and his first thoughts were, how to check our power, and evade the execution of the treaty. In vain did Colonel Clive represent to him, that, instead of draining his treasury for keeping such an immense army on foot, he had better dismiss one half of them, and rely on the English, who were his natural allies, bound to him by mutual interest, and every tie that could enforce our inviolable attachment. He formed his plan quite differently, and seemed to think himself sufficiently powerful to dispute the remainder of the treaty; and to this he bent all his future politics: the natural consequence of which was, (says Mr. Scrafton) that we were necessitated to strengthen ourselves, by forming a party in his own court to be a continual check upon him; a matter by no means difficult, in a country where loyalty and gratitude are virtues almost unknown. Roydullub was closely connected with Meer Jaffier, and a fellow conspirator of equal rank. He thought the Soubah had not rewarded him according to his merit, and the Soubah thought him too craving. The Colonel entered into strict engagements with this man, to protect him as far as life and honour, provided he attempted nothing against the Soubah's person or government; and he promised to use all the power and interest his posts gave him, to oblige the Soubah to the faithful execution of the articles of the treaty. The close connection which appeared between us, widened the breach between them, till mutual mistrust increased to that pitch, that each began to strengthen his party. Roydullub endeavoured to gain the officers of the army to him; and the Soubah dismissed from his court all those who had shewed too great an attachment to a minister he had made too powerful; for he was first treasurer, paymaster of the troops, and general of a large body of horse and foot, and his brother and relations occupied the most beneficial places at court. These made him powerful; but it was the English protection that made him formidable to his master. But the season now approached for taking the field; and in October 1757, the Soubah fixed his standard to the north, with great expectations of rendering himself as powerful and arbitrary as his old master Allyverde, whose example

ample he endeavoured to imitate in his government. He had projected the destruction of Roydullub and his party; to crush the rebellion broke out in Purhunea, where the late Governor refused to own his authority; by force or stratagem, to get the Nabob of Patna into his power, and give that province to his brother; and, finally, he proposed to awe the English into the relinquishing the remainder of the money due to them, and the other articles stipulated by the treaty. This project opened with the death of Mirza Mundeë, Surajah Dowla's brother, a weak helpless youth, whom his spies and parasites had insinuated to him Roydullub intended to set up for Soubah. The same jealousy induced him to send the widow of Allyherde into confinement at Dacca; and a strict watch was kept over an infant son left by Fazel Cooley Caun, the son of Zaindë Hamet, whom Nowagis Mahumud Caun adopted, and who died some years before, leaving this only child, called Morada Dowla.

THESE steps so alarmed Roydullub, that, under pretence of sickness, he absented himself from court, and declined taking the field with the Soubah. This was the first obstacle the Soubah met with; and now he began to apprehend, that, should he march from his capital, it was possible the Colonel might join with Roydullub, and attack his son, whom he left governor in his absence. He long hesitated what part to act with the Colonel; but at last determined writing to him, to desire him to march up with his troops, hoping either to awe him by the parade of his numerous forces, or win him by profitable offers to abandon Roydullub. The Colonel, sensible how easy it was to check him in his flight, let him go on in his airy ideas, contenting himself with giving frequent hints, that he saw what he was aiming at; but always assured him he would find, in the end, his true interest was to preserve the friendship of the English, by a strict adherence to the treaty, for that it was them, and them only, that were able to support him: but now that he saw the Soubah's jealousy was incurable, he determined to check him effectually. Force alone could not effect this; for the excesses introduced by the prize-money, and the unwholsomeness of the climate, had reduced our fine army to about four hundred and fifty Europeans, and twelve hundred seapoys; policy was therefore deemed necessary.

WITH this small force Colonel Clive took the field in November, and was joined by Roydullub, whose sickness vanished at the approach of our army. The Colonel had an interview with the Soubah, and blamed him for his unfaithful

faithful conduct ; reminded him of the agreement entered into at Jagutfeat's house, declaring himself Roydullub's protector ; and demanded security for the payment of the remainder of the treaty-money. The Soubah now felt his chains, and found, that the more he struggled, the closer they sat. After many vain attempts, by threats and caresses, to shake the Colonel's constancy, he at last, with a very ill grace, made over to the Company the revenues of the three provinces of Burdwan, Nuddea, and Houghley, for the remainder of the treaty-money ; and then the two armies marched forward. The Colonel entertained the Soubah with a review of his little army, to which he came in great state, in a car drawn by two elephants, accompanied by two of his children and several of his courtiers. The troops went through all their firings and evolutions with great briskness and regularity ; and the Soubah seemed lost in amazement at the quickness and uniformity of their motions ; but nothing struck him so much as the quick firing of the field pieces, which, he said, exceeded every thing he could possibly have imagined ; and he was altogether so well pleased with his entertainment, that he ordered ten thousand rupees to be distributed among them, for which the soldiers returned him their thanks, by three English huzzas. This review had a very good effect, by pointing out to the Soubah, how irresistible such a close compact body of infantry, where every man is sure of being assisted by his neighbour, is to the loose irregular attacks of a confused multitude, where no man has any reliance but on the strength of his arm.

I HEARD, says Mr. Scrafton, the Soubah discoursing of this review amongst his courtiers ; and, after expressing his admiration, said, " These people are " not to be fought with at a distance ; but if we were to rush on them with " our sabres, we should bear them down." On the approach of our united forces, the rebels of Purhunea dispersed, and the Soubah made his brother-in-law, Cossim Hossain Caun, Nabob of that province, and then marched towards Patna, hoping by force or stratagem to get Ramnaran into his power, and make his brother Nabob of that province ; but neither scheme succeeded. Ramnaran had taken the field with a very considerable army, and could not be prevailed on to trust himself in the Soubah's power, till he was assured of the Colonel's protection. The Soubah was very averse to this, but soon found, that Roydullub had won over the greatest part of his officers, who
were

were more likely to espouse Ramnaran's cause than his own. He at last consented to the Colonel's mediation, which he gladly granted, from the motive that it would be a constant check on the Soubah, to have the Nabob of Patna devoted to us.

HE therefore, at the Soubah's request, wrote Ramnaran, that he might come with safety. The Colonel's reputation for the inviolable observance of his word was such, that Ramnaran immediately left his army, and came with a few followers to the English camp. He then went, accompanied by Mr. Watts, to pay his submission to the Soubah, who received him with a constrained graciousness, and his army joined the rest in their route to Patna.

THE Soubah, who burnt with desire to free himself from our yoke, now formed a project, from which he hoped some relief. He ordered Coja Haddeë, a general who commanded sixteen thousand men, to make a forced march, and enter the city before our army, which had always been the van of the whole. This officer was much suspected of an attachment to Roydullub, and therefore the Soubah aimed at embroiling him in a skirmish with us, indifferent who had the advantage, where he wanted to be rid of both. He accordingly gave him orders, that when he entered the city, he should shut the gates, and permit no troops to enter the city without farther orders. Coja Haddeë, not perceiving the snare, passed our army in proper order for action. When the Colonel came near the city, he sent word to Coja Haddeë, that the Soubah had laid this snare to destroy him, and advised him not to oppose him, as he was determined to enter. Coja Haddeë immediately retired, and sent the Soubah a message, that he presumed his orders could not regard his friend Sabut Jung*, whom he had let pass. The Colonel marched through the city, and encamped on the opposite side. The Soubah followed with sullen slowness, mortified at his disappointment, and enraged to see the Colonel carrying away the glory of the campaign, while himself appeared only as his general. And now ensued a scene of plots and conspiracies, wherein the several actors displayed the arts of treachery and dissimulation with all the refined subtlety of eastern politicians.

I HAVE already mentioned, the Soubah's views this campaign were, to break the power of the minister; make his brother Nabob of Patna; oblige

* The title conferred on Colonel Clive by the court of Dehli. It means *the proved warrior*.

the Rajahs of that rebellious province to submit to him; and, finally, to awe the English into the relinquishing of the treaty-money. Let us now see how the different parties endeavoured to counteract him.

RAMNARAN and Roydullub soon found they were tending to the same centre, which was the destruction of a master they thought they could never trust. Coja Haddeë, Cossim Ally Caun, and most of the general officers, were of their party, and entered into a written agreement to support each other. They frequently sounded Colonel Clive, and endeavoured, by every artifice and stratagem, to set him at open variance with the Soubah; while their party at court acted the same part with the Soubah, by continually insinuating to him, that the Colonel was won over by Roydullub and Ramnaran, and would certainly attempt his life. While the Soubah's mind was thus agitated by suspicions of all parties, an accident happened, that almost brought every body to lay aside the mask, and act in their real characters. Colonel Clive kept his head-quarters at the English factory, the army being encamped to the westward of Patna; the Nabob's camp was to the eastward, but a vast number of his troops were in the city, as were also Ramnaran's; and with the Colonel was a guard of two hundred seapoys. Near the factory was quartered a body of Ramnaran's horse, and both used the same market. A dispute arose between them, which from words came to blows, and some of the Colonel's seapoys were wounded. They came to complain, and the Colonel permitted them to go and take their own revenge. They immediately sallied out, and attacked the horsemen, whom they soon routed; and one or two of them were killed. The alarm spread instantly throughout the city; all parties were in arms; spies were running backwards and forwards over the city; every one making a different report, according to the fears or wishes of their master. The Soubah, who had his head-quarters in a palace on the eastern side of the city, immediately suspected Colonel Clive, Ramnaran, and Roydullub, were forming a design to attack him. Full of this thought, he instantly put his women, papers, and jewels, on elephants, sent a party to secure his retreat, and put all his troops under arms. Roydullub and Ramnaran were also under arms, and it was a miracle the city was not fired and plundered. But as the rise of this disorder was entirely accidental, so nobody was prepared to take any advantage of it; and, by the intercourse of messengers, the tumult subsided, and every one sheltered himself under the cloak of dissimulation; first reflecting, whether they had done any thing in the first heat of the alarm that might have

have betrayed their sentiments. The next morning all the grandees visited Colonel Clive; and the commander of the horse, whose people had begun the skirmish with the English seapoys, was ordered out of the city. The Soubah lived in continual apprehensions; but the Colonel was too steady to be led astray by any of them: his honour, and the public interest, strongly attached him to the Soubah; though, at the same time, it was our interest to reduce his power to proper limits, which nothing could more effectually restrain, than supporting Ramnaran in the Nabobship of Patna, and Roydullub in the ministry; and just so far he entered into their views. The Rajahs refused to pay their submissions but through the mediation of the Colonel, which the Soubah was too haughty to accept; and the close connection between Ramnaran and Roydullub, both supported by us, prevented the rest. Thus the Soubah, equally mistrusting, and mistrusted of all, had the mortification to see all his projects vanish. The only satisfaction he had, was the receiving his confirmation from Dehli, on the same terms as Allyverde Caun; which were, the payment of fifty-two lacks per annum, with the usual presents of elephants, cloth, &c. The Colonel at the same time received the dignity of an Omrah of the empire, and the title of Zubdut Ulmulk Nusseera Dowla, Sabut Jung Bahader*, though the charters for holding it did not arrive till some time after.

WHEN the Soubah found that all his endeavours to win the Colonel were in vain, he endeavoured to outstay him, hoping his presence would be required in Calcutta, and that he would be obliged to abandon his friends to him: but even that proving ineffectual, he, at last, after a stay of four months, at an immense expence, was obliged to confirm Ramnaran in the Nabobship of Patna, Roydullub in the ministry, and to return to his capital, totally disappointed in all his views; whilst the Colonel not only got the provinces mortgaged to the Company for the remainder of the treaty, but obtained also the farm of salt-petre, which was before farmed out to one of the natives, on condition of their paying the Soubah forty thousand rupees per annum, and filled the province with admiration of his wise conduct, and steady adherence to all whose interest he espoused. The Colonel arrived at Muxadavad the 1st of June, 1758, where he was met by Major Forde, whom the gentlemen of Calcutta had persuaded to enter into the Company's service; and to him he

* The perfection of the empire, the sword of victory, the proved intrepid warrior.

left the command of the army, and proceeded himself to Calcutta, where he was received with every demonstration of the sincerest joy.

ADMIRAL WATSON died in August, 1757, lamented by the fleet and settlement; ever to be revered for his generous and disinterested conduct. The command of the fleet devolved on Mr. Pocock.

HITHERTO we had met with a continued series of success, which now seemed for a while suspended, by the arrival of the French fleet on the coast of Coromandel, commanded by Monsi. d'Aché, with three thousand Europeans on board, under the command of Lieutenant General Lally and many officers of distinction; a force which seemed to threaten the destruction of all our settlements in India. Mr. Pocock, though much inferior in force, sought the first opportunity to engage them, while yet very few of their men were landed. The engagement was very bloody to the French: night favoured their escape, and they got safe into Pondicherry, with the loss of one sixty-four gun ship, and upwards of five hundred men killed and wounded, as appeared by an intercepted letter from the French secretary.

THIS did not prevent the loss of Fort St. David's; and we now had little hope of receiving succours from England. The Directors, by the same letters that advised us of this force sailing from France, gave their Governors abroad to understand, that they left them to the protection of Providence; for that the breaking out of the war with France rendered it impracticable to send out any considerable forces this year. At this crisis the Directors appointed four Governors of Bengal, to govern each four months, and left Colonel Clive entirely out of the list. The gentlemen named to this temporary honour, with great disinterestedness declined it, and joined with the whole settlement in requesting Colonel Clive to take the government on himself. The Colonel, on the 23d of June, 1758, the anniversary of the victory of Placis, entered upon the government, to the great joy of every one.

THE arrival of the French squadron, and the loss of Fort St. David's, had an instant effect on our influence in the country. The Colonel considering, that if the Soubah could be prevailed on to pay him a visit in Calcutta, it would deceive our enemies into a firm persuasion, that there subsisted a perfect amity between us, sent Mr. Watts to him with the invitation, which he readily accepted. The Soubah, however jealous of the English power, ever shewed a sincere regard for the Colonel.

THIS

THIS outward appearance of harmony was equally necessary to the Soubah, as it was our alliance alone which made him formidable to his neighbours; but, observing how much we courted his friendship, he thought he might now execute his designs against Roydullub. He left the city under charge of his son, first dismissing his minister from all his employments; and, to all appearance, left an order with his son to put him to death; for no sooner was his father out of his sight, than he prepared to attack him: but, as our reputation and influence in the country entirely depended on our protecting him in his life and honour, Mr. Scrafton, then resident at the Nabob's court, marched a company of men to his assistance, and took him under his protection. The Soubah, who was very little advanced on his way, was alarmed at this, and seemed determined to return; but Mr. Watts had address enough not only to persuade him to continue his journey, but to let Roydullub come down to Calcutta. The Soubah was glad he had carried his point so far as to have dismissed him from his post, without our resenting it; and the Colonel was pleased to have kept his word, which extended no farther than the protection of his life and honour. The Soubah was most magnificently entertained, had very great presents made him, returned well satisfied to his capital, and left Roydullub in Calcutta.

THIS visit had the desired effect: the French, as well as the Soubah's enemies, conjectured, if they attempted any thing against Bengal, they should find our united forces against them. The French were now so powerful on the coast of Coromandel, having at least four thousand Europeans and six thousand seapoys, that we began to fear for Madras. The French had also an army in the Decan, from which country they drew a considerable revenue. The Colonel, apprehensive they might add that army to their other forces, resolved, against the unanimous opinion of his council, to send a great part of our force into that country, with a view to make a diversion that might call off part of the French force from the coast of Coromandel. For that purpose Major Forde embarked with four hundred and twenty Europeans, and one thousand four hundred seapoys, with a suitable train of artillery, and amply provided with stores of all kinds, and landed at Vizagapatam, the Rajah of that country having desired our assistance against the French.

THE departure of so great a part of our force made the Soubah more haughty in his conduct. He had lately cut off two of his general officers,
Coja

Coja Hadjee and Cossim Ally Caun, who were of Roydullub's party. The former he ordered out of the country, and in his passage through the pass of Sicklagully, he ordered the mountaineers and governor of Rajamall, to fall on him; the other his son assassinated at an entertainment. And now he sent a forged letter, to prove, that Roydullub was concerned with them in a conspiracy to murder him; but the forgery was evidently proved, and the Colonel persevered in protecting him. The Soubah seemed inclined to resent this protection, and hinted, that he expected the mortgaged provinces should be restored to him; but the news of Colonel Forde's success checked him for the present. That officer, with his small army, defeated the French army commanded by the Marquis de Conflans, consisting of five hundred Europeans and six thousand disciplined seapoys; and continued his pursuit of them towards Masulipatam, the French capital of Golconda.

BUT now a new scene opened. The Mogul's son had escaped from the hands of the Vizir, who kept the Emperor himself and all his family as a kind of state prisoners, and appeared in arms on the frontiers of the province of Bahar. The Soubah had lately given such proofs of his inclination to avoid all farther connections with us, that he apprehended the Colonel would not be very ready to assist him; and declined, as long as possible, acquainting him with the threatened invasion: but now the exigency of his affairs demanded he should exert himself. Having kept eighty thousand men at least in his pay, he had quite exhausted his treasury, and vast arrears were still due to them: far from assisting him, they even threatened his life, if he did not immediately comply with their demands: all he could do was to satisfy a part of them, who took the field under his son's command, and might be about four thousand horse, and as many foot. In the mean time the Mogul's son had crossed the Carumnassar, which is the boundary of Bahar, where he was joined by the Soubah of Oude's brother and some of the Boujepore Rajahs, and was on full march towards Patna at the head of forty thousand men, with Mons. Laws, and his little party of a hundred French and two hundred seapoys. Ramnaran thought this was the opportunity for him to throw off his obedience to Meer Jaffier, and seemed determined to declare for the Prince. Thus every thing looked as if the Soubah would lose his life and government, without a sword being drawn in his behalf. In this distress he at last applied to Colonel Clive.

THE Company's affairs were now in almost as critical a situation as the Soubah's. The siege of Madras was actually begun, and we had sent thither

part of the forces that came out in this year's shipping; so that our whole force was but three hundred infantry, one hundred train, and two thousand five hundred seapoys, most of whom had never seen an action. Nevertheless, the Colonel hesitated not a moment, but immediately began his march to Muxadavad, where he arrived on the 20th of March, 1759. He reproached the Soubah severely for his conduct, particularly for the manner in which he had destroyed his two general officers, which had quite alienated the affections of his army from him, and for his behaviour to the English; but assured him, he might rely on his utmost endeavours to extricate him from the difficulties he was involved in, and that himself and all his army would fight for him to the last man. The Colonel immediately continued his march, and the Soubah promised to follow in a few days. All parties had their eyes fixed on the Colonel. The Prince or Sha Zaddah invited him pressing to join him, offering him a share in the government, and any advantages he pleased to ask on behalf of the Company; and, flattering himself the Colonel might be brought over to him, he would not bring Law's party with him, but left them at Benares, lest it should disgust the Colonel. The Nabob of Patna, not hearing of the Colonel's march, had entered into a treaty with the Sha Zaddah, by which he promised to declare for him, on condition that the Sha Zaddah confirmed him in his Nabobship, and that his army should not enter the city: this was agreed to, and Ramnaran came out of the city, paid his submission to the Sha Zaddah, and made him a present of a considerable sum of money. The Sha Zaddah's army passed the city, and encamped towards Bengal; and a day or two after he sent to Ramnaran for some more money and the city cannon. The messengers affected the haughty airs of conquerors, to which Ramnaran was not inclined to submit, as he had now heard of the Colonel's march, and indeed had received a letter from him to this purport, "That as it was by his mediation he had been confirmed in his government, he looked on himself as responsible to the Soubah for his fidelity; that if he offered to swerve from his duty, he should feel his utmost resentment; that he was marching towards him with all expedition, and flattered himself, that the same Providence which had blessed him with victory on so many occasions, would not now forsake him." Intimidated by this letter, and full of the hopes of a speedy relief, he turned the Prince's messengers out of the city, and shut the gates against him. The Sha Zaddah, surprized and enraged at this sudden change, immediately began the siege. The Colonel's approach made all parties act with
vigour

vigour. The Prince made several assaults, and was very near carrying the place, when the appearance of our army, which had marched four hundred miles in three-and-twenty days, obliged him to raise the siege; on which his army, which had been brought together only by the hopes of plunder, dispersed, leaving him only the Soubah of Oude's brother, and a few horse, who made the best of their way out of the province. Thus was the Soubah once more indebted to us for his life and government, both which must have inevitably fallen, but for this vigorous effort; for so little able was he to support himself, that, far from joining us, his troops surrounded him, and refused to march, till they had all their arrears, and two months pay advanced them. And even the few forces that marched with his son, made a dead halt when they drew near the enemy, and would not advance a step without their arrears, so that had the enemy stood, the Colonel must have borne the whole brunt of the action with his little army. But such was the reputation of our arms, that though they had repeated and certain intelligence of the small number of our forces, they thought it folly to offer to contend with us. Nor is this astonishing, to those who know what strong fatalists these Eastern people are, who look on fighting against a fortunate man, as contending with God himself. When you tell them of a successful commander, they never ascribe his successes to any human virtue, but lift up their eyes, and say, "A happy fate attends him." They think, in some measure, with that king of old, who said, "The LORD reigneth."

ON the 10th of April, 1759, the Colonel entered Patna in triumph, and received the thanks and congratulations of all ranks of persons there. But to Meer Jaffier this news was as the gift of life to a condemned man: his troops that had surrounded him, and seemed to rejoice in his adversity, were now as fervile as they had been insolent before; but they soon felt his resentment, by the dismissal of the greatest part of them from his service, convinced at last that he might rely on the English. During the march, the Colonel had the pleasure to hear of Monsr. Lally's retreat from Madras, after a siege of sixty-seven days.

THIS good news was soon followed by that of the success of the expedition under Major Forde. That officer, after struggling through many difficulties, in a long march through an enemy's country, and in want of money, at last appeared before Masulipatam, with his little army, now reduced to three hundred and fifty Europeans, and one thousand two hundred seapoys. He found

found it a city fortified after the European manner, surrounded by a salt morass, and defended by the Marquis de Conflans, with four hundred and fifty regulars, a hundred citizens and other Europeans, and six thousand disciplined seapoys. At the same time, the Soubah of the Decan was marching to the relief of it, at the head of an immense army of his own, and a party of two hundred Frenchmen; and before he had made any progress in the siege, the Soubah was advanced so near, that Major Forde, finding he could not retreat without risking his whole army, desperately resolved to assault the place, though there was no way of approaching it, but through a morass waist deep. Under all these disadvantages he attempted it, and was successful, though with the loss of a fourth part of his little army. The Marquis, and five hundred and twenty-two Frenchmen, were taken prisoners; and the Soubah of the Decan, not caring to contend with a conqueror, returned. To add more to the Major's successes, two days after the place was taken, there appeared two French ships in the road, with four hundred and fifty men on board, for the relief of the place, who seeing English colours flying, thought fit to sail away; and the season not permitting their return to Pondicherry, they landed at Ganjam, where they were surrounded by the country Rajahs, who so reduced them by famine and skirmishing, that very few escaped to Pondicherry; so that this expedition all together cost the French a thousand Europeans. Colonel Clive, at the Soubah's request, now marched to punish those Rajahs who had joined the Sha Zadda, or Prince. These Rajahs are so powerful, by the nature of their country, that they had never been thoroughly subdued, and had always been formidable to the Nabobs of Patna. When the Colonel drew near their country, two of them came and made their submission, and were obliged to pay the Soubah all the revenues due from them for several years past. The third, who had been more guilty, kept aloof, and the Colonel followed him amidst his rocks and mountains, exposed to the most terrible heats that ever Europeans underwent; but he was pressed so close, that at last he was obliged to submit, under very severe terms.

THE unfortunate Prince, whose amiable character deserved a better fate, soon perceived the Colonel was the only obstacle to his success; and, having found he was not to be allured by the flattering prosperity that for some time attended him, endeavoured now to make an impression on him by his misfortunes. He represented to the Colonel, in a very pathetic letter, the peculiar wretchedness of his fate; “ That, though born to a crown, the persecution

“ of the Vizir had left him not a spot to rest on ; that he had no intentions
 “ against Meer Jaffier’s life or government ; that all he aimed at, was an
 “ army to make head against the Vizir ; and that, if it pleased God to favour
 “ his cause, the Colonel might command any advantages for the Company
 “ or himself.” This the Colonel communicated to the Soubah’s son and
 Ramnaran, who both agreed it would be dangerous to have a prince of the
 blood in any of the provinces ; that he would prove a constant source of plots
 and conspiracies against the Soubah ; would draw on him the resentment of
 the Vizir ; and finally involve the country in troubles. The Colonel there-
 fore sent back the messenger with a respectful letter, and a present of five
 hundred gold mohurs (about one thousand pounds sterling). His behaviour
 so charmed the Prince, that he sent him word, he would force himself under
 his protection, and dare him to deliver him up ; but the Colonel was necessi-
 tated to answer, that he acted under the Soubah’s orders, and would therefore
 by no means advise him to put himself in his power. The unhappy Prince
 was obliged to seek some other refuge.

AFTER these successes, Colonel Clive resigned the command of the army to
 Colonel Caillaud.

*The Account given by Colonel Caillaud to the Committee of the House of Commons,
 as given in the Report to the House.*

YOUR Committee called upon Colonel Caillaud to give an account of
 what he knew of the transactions preceding the revolution in 1760 ;
 and he informed the Committee, That he was called to Bengal in November
 1759, to take the command of the troops in the room of Lord Clive, who
 intended to return to Europe early the next season ; that he arrived two days
 after the affair of the Dutch ; and, upon his enquiring into the state of
 affairs in that country at that time, was informed, that the Prince was again
 preparing to enter the province of Bahar with a large army, and joined
 by several Zemindars of that province, who had not taken part with him
 the year before. That the Nabob of Purneha had taken the field on the
 eastern bank of the Ganges, about half way between Patna and Muxadabad ;
 and his motives for so doing were thought to be an inclination of joining
 the Prince, if a favourable opportunity offered. Lord Clive judged it there-

fore expedient that he should march with a detachment to Muxadabad. He set out from Calcutta in December, with three hundred Europeans, fifty artillery, six pieces of cannon, and a battalion of seapoys, consisting of about a thousand men, and arrived at Muxadabad about the 26th of December; and that on the 6th of January, Lord Clive and Colonel Forde joined him. That Lord Clive then introduced him to the Nabob (Meer Jaffier) and recommended him to his friendship. On the 14th of January, Lord Clive and Colonel Forde set out upon their return; and on the 18th he began his march to Patna, joined by the Nabob's son, at the head of a large number of country forces. There were a great many difficulties in setting out the expedition; the low state of the Nabob's treasury obliged him to borrow money as he could get it, from the bankers, by mortgaging countries for it. That about the 30th of January he reached a place, opposite to which the Nabob of Purhunea was encamped. He had not declared his intentions openly, but said he was ready and willing to obey Meer Jaffier's orders in every thing, to pay all the revenues that were due, and to prove himself a faithful subject and servant. It was necessary to get more than these general assurances from him; he was at the head of a large body of troops, and, as the affairs of Patna were then situated, it was dangerous to leave such a force in his rear, without knowing whether he could trust them. That he endeavoured to settle matters between him and Meer Jaffier, who would accept of no mediation but the Colonel's, and would not see the young Nabob, but took his security, and promised, if he faithfully discharged all the demands the old Nabob had on him for revenues due, that he would endeavour to get Meer Jaffier's consent that he should remain in his command. That this kept him seven days; and at this time the Prince was drawing near Patna; the Soubah of that province (Ramnaran) had a considerable army under his command, besides a battalion of our seapoys, that was left in garrison at Patna by Lord Clive. Ramnaran marched out of the city with these forces. Colonel Caillaud repeatedly wrote to him, and pressed him not to come to an action, but to wait his arrival. However, he chose to follow his own advice; he engaged the Prince; two of his principal officers deserted him during the action; he was totally defeated, and severely wounded. Four hundred of our seapoys marched to his assistance, when he was surrounded by the enemy, saved him, and were cut to pieces themselves, with three European gentlemen, two officers, and one gentleman a volunteer.

That the remainder of the battalion secured his retreat into Patna, which the Prince immediately invested. That he received news of this the 11th of February, 1760, and marched with all the expedition in his power, obliged him, on the 15th, to raise the siege of Patna; and on the 22d the two armies met and engaged. That the young Nabob (Meer Jaffier's son) followed quite a contrary disposition to the one he wished him to take, but that he saved him in imminent danger, and the enemy was totally routed. That the instant the engagement was over, the young Nabob retired to his tent, on account of the wounds he had received. That the witness requested him to give him ever so small a body of horse, and with his Europeans and seapoys, fatigued as they were, he would do the best to pursue the enemy, and clear the country of them: that he was deaf to all his entreaties; and, with the handful of troops he was at the head of, fatigued with the forced marches he had made to raise the siege, put it quite out of his power to pursue the Prince; besides, out of the six pieces of cannon which he had in the field, four broke down during the engagement; and some time was necessary to put those carriages in repair. That at length he persuaded the Nabob to leave the city of Patna, on the 29th of February; and on the 2d of March he received advice, that the Prince was in full march for the province of Bengal. That he had the advantage of a day's march of our army, with an army composed almost entirely of cavalry, unincumbered with baggage. That on the 7th he got within ten miles of him: he marched off in the night, and took his way across the mountains, to enter the province of Bengal in another part; a road through which no army before had ever marched, but through which, however, the Colonel followed him; and on the 4th of April joined the old Nabob, who was in the field. That on the 6th, with their united armies, they got so near the Prince, that he proposed to the Nabob to give him a body of cavalry, and some spare horses to assist him, and he would attack the Prince in his camp that night. This he would not comply with. The next day he came up, however, with the rear of their army, a river only dividing them: that he again sent repeated messages to the Nabob, to beg he would only march a body of cavalry to keep the enemy in play until he could come up with his infantry; but this he would not consent to, and the enemy marched off unmolested; and in two days after took the same road into the province of Bahar. That, afraid for the safety of Patna, which he knew was destitute of troops, he detached Captain Knox, with two hundred Europeans,

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a battalion of seapoys, and two pieces of cannon, to march with all the expedition he possibly could for the relief of Patna, if the Prince should besiege it. He came in time to save the city, on which the Prince had made two general assaults, and was preparing for a third when Captain Knox arrived with some part of his detachment, and again obliged him to raise the siege. That he remained in camp, with the old Nabob and his son, until the 16th of May, when he marched with the young Nabob against the Nabob of Purnhuna, whom the old Nabob had endeavoured to bring back to his duty, but which the other refused, and would comply with none of his terms, broke his promise with the Colonel, and was setting out with an intention of joining the Prince.—On the 22d he again reached Patna, and crossed the river there; but before that happened, Captain Knox, whom he had ordered to march from Patna across the river, and endeavour to stop the progress of the Nabob of Purnhuna, had taken a strong and judicious post, and was attacked by the Nabob's whole army, and maintained his post with great bravery. That they joined in pursuit of the enemy, who on the 27th he came up with; the young Nabob with his army in the rear two miles; the cannonading began between the two armies; he soon seized their cannon, dislodged them from all their posts, and would have obtained a complete victory, if foot could have overtaken cavalry, of which his army was chiefly composed; that he had none of his own, and the Nabob would not send him one horseman. That they continued pursuing the Nabob of Purnhuna until the 3d of July; they were to have continued their march next day, when, between one and two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Lushington came into his tent with a messenger, and told him the young Nabob was dead; which he was told was by a flash of lightning, as he lay on his bed. In a few minutes after, his Duan (or prime minister) came to the Colonel in the greatest distress, assuring him, that if something was not immediately done, the consequence would be the plunder of the camp, and the Nabob's troops marching off wherever they thought proper: there was no way to prevent the confusion which must follow, but to endeavour to keep his death a secret from the army, that we might gain time to bring over some of the officers of the greatest consequence, and attach them to our interest. The Colonel sent for one or two of those he thought he could most confide in, told them the story, and requested, as a mark of the regard they had for their old master, to continue faithful

faithful in his service; and to bring over, by degrees, as many others as they could to this way of thinking; that he, on his part, would use all his endeavours with the Nabob, that all the arrears of pay, and all the just demands they might have, should be settled to their satisfaction. The Colonel then determined the army should march back towards Patna, and give out that the young Nabob was ill; this was performed in seven days, and during this whole time, except the people who were entrusted with the secret, the army had no knowledge of the young Nabob's death.—The Colonel said this was the narrative of his campaign.

COLONEL Caillaud then read to the Committee the following letter.

To the Honourable J. Z. Holwell, Esq; President and Governor of Fort William.

“ S I R, “ Camp at Balkiffen's Gardens, 29th of May, 1760.

“ I AM honoured this day with your favour of the 24th instant. My last letters of the 24th, and of yesterday of the 28th, contain all I can urge in favour of our return to Patna with the young Nabob. You seem also convinced of the necessity of it. I shall be glad to find it further confirmed by the sentiments of the select Committee. I am not master enough of the subject, to know how the Company's investment of salt-petre will be so much hurt this year; but this I am very confident of, that if we do not find succours, the whole province may be lost, and many years investment to come.

“ I WILL endeavour now, Sir, to reply as fully as I can to the subject on which you desire so earnestly to know my sentiments; and hope what I have to say will so fully satisfy you, that I need not at least leave the army until the campaign is quite concluded, as I think it cannot be done without prejudice to our affairs.

“ As to the man whose cause we now support, Meer Jaffier, I cannot be of opinion, that we can get rid of him for a better, without running the risk of much greater inconveniences attending such a change, than those we now labour under.—I presume the establishing tranquillity in these provinces, would restore to us all the advantages of trade we could wish, for the profit and honour of our employers; and I think we bid fairer to bring that tranquillity about by our
present

present influence over the Soubah, and by supporting him, than by any change which can be made.—No new revolution can take place without a certainty of troubles; and a revolution will certainly be the consequence, whenever we withdraw our protection from him.—We cannot in prudence neither, I believe, leave this revolution to chance; we must, in some degree, be instrumental to bringing it about: in such a case, it is very possible we may raise a man to the dignity just as unfit to govern, as little to be depended upon, and, in short, as great a rogue as our Nabob; but perhaps not so great a coward, nor so great a fool, and of consequence much more difficult to manage.—As to the injustice of supporting this man, on account of his cruelties, oppressions, and his being detested in his government, I see so little chance in this blessed country of finding a man endued with the opposite virtues, that I think we may put up with these vices, with which we have no concern, if in other matters we find him fittest for our purpose.

“As to his breach of his treaty, by introducing the Dutch last year, that was never so clearly proved, I believe, but to admit of some doubt.—Colonel Clive, before he left the country, seemed satisfied that what was suspicious in his conduct in that affair, proceeded not from actual guilt, but from the timidity of his nature: but if we still suspect him, from further circumstances, we have it always in our power to put it to the test at once, by making him act as he ought, whether he will or no. With regard to drawing our swords against the lawful Prince of the country, no man can more pity his misfortune than I have done, nor would any one be more willing and happy to be instrumental in assisting him to recover his just right.—But such a plan is not the thought of a day, nor the execution of it the work of a few months: there is a powerful party still remaining; the Vizir, with the Mharratas and Jutes, who, notwithstanding the constant success of Abdallah against them, still make head against him; and such are their resources and their numbers, that I believe they will at last oblige the Patans to leave the country, for though they cannot beat them fairly out of the field, they bid fair to starve them out of the country.

“You have, no doubt, received advice from Mr. Hastings, that Abdallah has sent orders to the several powers to acknowledge the Prince King of Indostan, by the name of Shah Allum: rupees are struck by his orders at Banaras and Lacknow, in that name; orders are also given to Sujah Dowla, to accept the post of Vizir; and our Nabob has got, it is said, instructions

to acknowledge him, and pay him the obeisance due to the King of Kings, as he is stiled.

“ IF we were perfectly sure Abdallah would remain, as he says, until he saw the Prince well fixed on the throne, and the peace and tranquillity of the country restored; we might, I think, all joined together, be a match for the Mharratas: but we must be well assured that Abdallah will heartily enter, and when entered, will firmly support the cause; for, should this appointment of his be no more (as it is possible) than a finishing stroke to end his expedition with the éclat of having given us a Mogul, and, when a certain number of the country powers had entered into the alliance, he should think of a return to his own country, and leave us to fight it out with the other contending party, I fear the Vizir and Mharratas would be too strong for those who remained of the alliance, supposing them to be the Ruellahs, and Sujah Dowla, and the Nabob of Bengal.—However, supposing all this should take place, why may it not be done with our Nabob in our hand, still his friends and his protectors?

“ I AM this instant favoured with your’s of the 25th, and I find by your postscript, that your opinion and mine, with regard to the Prince, do not differ much; I have no objection to follow the plan you propose. Let Mr. Hastings sound the old Nabob, and I will go to work with the young one, who joins me this day.

“ WE may continue our march on to Patna, the rains will give us time to negotiate; so see we go on sure grounds, and make such a plan of the alliance as will do us honour, and be an advantage to our country and our employers. But let us not abandon the Nabob; besides the reasons I have urged above, one more still remains, which I believe will have some weight, and make us cautious how we attempt, without very strong and urgent reasons, any change in the present system.

“ You are well acquainted, Sir, with the cause which first gave rise to the present share of influence which we enjoy in this part of the Mogul’s empire; a just resentment for injuries received was the first motive which induced us to make trial of our strength: the ease with which we succeeded enlarged our views, and made us cheerfully embrace all opportunities of increasing that interest and influence, both on account of the advantages which accrued from it to the Company, as likewise the hopes that it might in time prove a source of benefit and riches to our country. Such were, I believe, the

the motives of Colonel Clive's actions during his administration; such, I believe, were the views of the Company, when they solicited and obtained Colonel Coote's regiment from the government; and such, I am certain, is the plan which the Colonel proposes on his return to pursue and to support, in hopes to convince the Ministry and the Company, as he is convinced himself, that if they please to support his project, it will prove of the greatest advantage to the public. If I have stated our situation right, it follows, I believe, of course, that we are bound to work on the same plan, to act on the same principles, and to keep up the system as perfect and entire as it was left in our hands; that whatever resolutions the nation or the Company may come to, on Colonel Clive's representations, they may not be disappointed, by finding here (at least through our faults) any very material change in our situation, power, or credit.

"ONE word more. All we can wish to do is, not to suffer the Nabob to impose on us, and to check every beginning of an independence, he may endeavour to assume. Let us consult and improve, on every occasion that offers, the honour and advantage of our employers, and the increase of their trade and credit; and not let them suffer any additional expence on account of pursuing any plan, or supporting any system whatever. By acting thus, I think we cannot err; we run at least no risk; and, I believe, the Company's affairs may be conducted by us, under this Soubah, as much to their advantage and credit, as any other whom a revolution may place in the government.

"INCLOSED, I have the honour to send Mr. Amyatt's last letter, received this morning. We have had, as you will see, another brush with the Prince's troops, and with great success; however, if the other plan goes on, we must put an end to this fighting system, and talk coolly on affairs. I shall expect the favour of your opinion with great impatience: and have the honour to assure you, that I am, with perfect esteem and respect,

JOHN CAILLAUD."

SOON after Colonel Caillaud arrived at Patna, the beginning of August 1760, he received advice of Mr. Vansittart's arrival at Calcutta, as Governor.

STATE OF AFFAIRS ON MR. VANSITTART'S ARRIVAL.

Mr. Holwell's Address to Mr. Vansittart, 4th August, 1760.

Fort William the 4th August 1760.

Monday.

At a Select Committee; Present,
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esq; President,
William Brightwell Sumner, Esq;
John Zephaniah Holwell, Esq;
William M'Guire, Esq;

Agreeable to the President's request, Mr. Holwell now lays before the Committee a short address, with such remarks, and memorials, as may convey to the President a knowledge of the present situation of the Company's affairs in these provinces.

" Honourable Sir and Sirs,

" **A**S my health, and the consideration of other circumstances, will soon oblige me to request permission from the Board to resign the service, I beg leave, previous to that step, to accompany this short address with such remarks and memorials as may convey to the honourable the President (so lately arrived amongst us) a knowledge of the present state and situation of the Company's affairs, as they stand connected with, or depend on, the government of Bengal.

" To form a judgment of the present state of things in Bengal, it will be needful to take a retrospect view of the late revolution in the year 1757, when necessity, and a just resentment for the most cruel injuries, obliged us to enter into a plan to deprive Surajah Dowla of his government; which was accordingly done, and Meer Jaffier fixed by us at the head of the provinces, on certain conditions, and under treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive.

" A SHORT space of time fully proved how unworthy the family thus raised: the conditions of the treaty could not be obtained from the Nabob without
being

being in a manner extorted from him; and, by a thousand shifts and evasions, it was plain to the world no single article would ever have been complied with, had the Nabob been invested with power sufficient to have prevented it, or could he have divested himself of his own fears and apprehensions from our resentments.

“TANKAS (grants of revenue) on the lands were however granted for the payment of the stipulated sums, by which every harpy employed in the revenue became our implacable enemies; and consequently,

“A PARTY was soon raised at the Durbar, headed by the Nabob's son, who were daily planning schemes to shake off their dependence on the English, and continually urging to the Nabob, that until this was effected his government was a name only: the Nabob, weak and irresolute in himself, fell too soon into these sentiments.

“THE first step taken to accomplish this measure of independence, was to assassinate, or take off, under one pretence or other, every minister and officer at the Durbar, whom they knew were attached to the English. In consequence of which Coza Hoddy, and Cuzzum Ally Khan, first and second Buxy (pay-master) were assassinated in November and December 1758; and, after many attempts made on the persons of Rheim Khan, and Golam Shaw, his uncle and brother, they were obliged to seek an asylum with the Sha Zaddah, 1759:—Roydullub, his son, and four brothers, were proscribed, on no account but that of the various informations he gave us, and his firm attachment. This family would have fallen a sacrifice, had they not been rescued out of the Nabob's hands by force of arms. Amier Beg Khan would from the same cause have suffered the same fate, had he not given his solemn engagement to quit the kingdom; which he accordingly did.

“WHEN the provinces were invaded by the Sha Zaddah, on the side of Patna, though the undoubted heir to the kingdom, Colonel Clive drove him beyond the Curramnaffar, and brought the country into subjection to the Nabob.

“THE Sha Zaddah, or Prince, more than once wrote to the Colonel, offering any terms for the Company and himself, on condition the English would quit the Nabob, and join his arms; but the Colonel, thinking it incompatible with our treaty with the Nabob, gave the Prince no encouragement.

“AT the end of the campaign the Colonel returned to us, in June 1759,

and Meer Jaffier and his son arrived at the city about the same time, with full conviction of our firm attachment, and our religious regard to our treaties. But thinking themselves now better established in the government, and screened by such a sure and powerful support as our arms, began to set no bounds to their cruelties, oppressions, and exactions from those who had any thing to be plundered of.—And this barely received a check from the severe and frequent remonstrances of Colonel Clive to the Nabob, on a conduct which he foretold him must, from the general detestation of his people, end in the destruction of himself, family, and country.—His troops, clamorous at the same time for their pay, whilst the Nabob, in place of appropriating the sums he had acquired by repeated assassinations, to the just demands of his jeminautdars and troops, lavished the same in boundless extravagancies.

“ ABOUT the latter end of July 1759, the young Nabob arrived, on a pretended visit to Colonel Clive; but the real motive was to negotiate, if possible, the delivery of Roydullub, and two or three other articles given him in charge by his father; such as the surrender of the tanka lands on security; the borrowing of us a large sum of money; &c. In these, the son proving unsuccessful, a member of the Board, and select Committee, was, at his desire, sent to accompany him to the city, to reconcile the Nabob to the negatives his son had received at Calcutta; and at the same time to intimate to him the advice we had received, that a large armament was fitting out at Batavia, destined for Bengal, and to penetrate, if possible, his sentiments on this occasion, and what resolutions he would come to, in case that force arrived in the river.

“ HE was not to be reconciled to the refusals his son had met, but determined to try his own power, and declared his intention to pay the Colonel a visit himself in September; which he did, with success equal to his son. He seemed to make light of the Dutch intelligence, and not to give credit to it, though he discovered much perplexity. However, he wrote a letter to the Colonel, demanding our assistance, by virtue of the treaty of alliance, in case the Dutch troops came into the river.

“ THE armament arrived during his visit; his stay after that was short; his mind seemed much embarrassed, and his whole subsequent conduct gave most

most undoubted proofs, that the Dutch forces were arrived by his invitation. That such were the sentiments of Colonel Clive and the Council, appears from the narrative of that Dutch business, transmitted to the honourable the Court of Directors, and to our several Admirals. A perusal of this narrative will convince the impartial, that the Nabob, in his behaviour on this occasion, was guilty of a most flagitious breach of the article of the treaty of alliance; and from that period, no terms whatever should have been preserved with him, after such unexampled treachery and ingratitude. To which, by way of illustration, we may add the subsequent farces carried on between the Nabobs and the Dutch, as set forth in the several letters between Mr. Holwell and the resident at Morauxbag, on this subject; by reference to which it will appear most manifest, that the Nabob's real intentions never were to distress effectually that people, but, on the contrary, were only aimed to amuse and deceive us; witness the private orders and instructions given to Mhir Cossim Ally Khan, so opposite to his public ones, when he was sent down to demolish the new works at Chinfura: in the apparent delays of this service, Cossim Ally Khan suffered much in the opinion of the late President, tho' unjustly, as we subsequently learnt he was acting conformable to the private orders of the Nabob.

" IN the beginning of the year 1760, the Prince invaded the provinces again, with a force more respectable than the preceding year, both in troops and commanders, by the revolt of Camgaar Khan, Golam Shaw, Reim Khan, and others; the Nabob, by this time, having made himself and family so universally hated, that we may justly say there was hardly a man in the provinces that did not wish success to the Prince.

" COLONEL CLIVE resigned the government early in February 1760, about which time the Mharattas entered the province, from the southward, making a considerable diversion in favour of the Prince. The Nabob demanded a body of our troops, seapoys, and field artillery, for the defence of this country, to join his, under the command of Mhir Cossim Ally Khan, which was granted; but their use was frustrated by the Nabob's pusillanimous, irregular, and contradictory orders to his General, Cossim Ally Khan, to march with our troops to Cutwah, and the city, in place of marching directly to the southward. Thus this country fell a prey to the Mharattas, and a stop was put to the collecting our tankas, on which was our greatest dependence and expectation for the service of the year 1760.

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“ OUR troops, under the command of Major Caillaud, had taken the field in conjunction with the Nabob’s, under the command of his son, some time before Colonel Clive’s departure for Europe, and shaped their route towards Patna, whilst the Nabob himself remained in the neighbourhood of Rajambol.

“ THIS campaign, like the former, has produced no definitive action, to lay the least foundation of a peace to these provinces. In the course of this campaign three morally sure and important opportunities were lost, by the cowardice of both the Nabobs; the first, when the young Nabob refused to join the Major in the immediate pursuit of the Prince, when routed near Patna; the second, when the old Nabob refused to comply with the Major’s earnest request and demand, to cross his horse over the Burdowan river, and attack the Prince, when united with Subut, &c.; the third, when in the late pursuit of Cuddein Hossein Khan, the young Nabob refused to lead or detach his horse to the Major’s assistance, by which a general action might have been brought on; but, on the contrary, he kept encamped two or three miles in the Major’s rear, as if his intentions were to leave our troops without horse, a sacrifice to the enemy. Had the most been made of any of these favourable occasions, the stroke had, in all human probability, been decisive; as it is, it only proves, that we continue to draw our swords in support of a family most unworthy the government they have by our assistance usurped; and this to the manifest hazard and ruin of the Company’s trade and concerns.

“ ON the near approach of the Major to Patna he received a phirmaund (patent or grant) from the Prince, of which he advised the Board. The Major received intelligence, that the old Nabob had actually a Vakeel (an agent) in the Prince’s camp, and that he was negotiating a separate treaty with him: this appeared to have so dangerous a tendency, that any means were eligible to obtain the truth of it.

“ PATNA is relieved, and secure for the present. Cuddein Hossein Khan is dispossessed of his government, and drove out of the country, but with all his treasure and valuable effects, to the reproach and infamy of the young Nabob’s memory; so that after the rains he will easily join the Prince with the essentials of war, which he only wants, to harass the provinces. The young Nabob is taken off by a flash of lightning, and our troops are gone into quarters, after having done as much, or more, than could have been expected,

expected, from men so wretchedly supported by those very people, for whose preservation they endured every distress and fatigue, and braved variety of deaths.

“THE Prince has found means to preserve to himself and forces a footing on this side the Soane, and in the neighbourhood of Patna. Our supplies from thence will be again cut off, and the Company’s affairs be reduced to the last extremity of distress, unless the approaching ships of the season relieve us, or the whole rents of those lands could be collected during the rains. The latter is hardly possible, in any serviceable degree, and the former carries very little probability. The late proposal of the Nabob’s, to pay our balances, and resume his lands, is devoutly to be wished; but it is likewise to be feared he has no meaning in it.”

C O N S U L T A T I O N S.

Fort William, September the 11th, 1760.

COLONEL CAILLAUD arrives at Calcutta, informs the Committee that he left Patna the 31st of last month, at which time the Prince was at Dowdnagore, on this side the Soane; that all the reports of his crossing it were over; and that Monsieur Laws, with Mawdarah Dawlett, were preparing to repass the river and join him. It was said their next motion would be towards Camdar Khan, with whom the operations of the next campaign were to be settled.

BEFORE we resolve upon a plan of future operations, we will attempt a description of the state the Company’s affairs are now in, and this not to be confined to Bengal, but with regard also to the exigencies of the other settlements, who are told to depend on this for supplies of money:—our influence increasing from time to time since the revolution brought about by Colonel Clive, so have we been obliged to increase our force to support that influence. We have now more than a thousand Europeans, and five thousand seapoys, which, with the contingent expences of an army, is far more than the revenues allotted for their maintenance. This deficiency was not so much attended to whilst the immense sums stipulated by the treaty were coming in; but, these resources being now quite exhausted, and no supplies of money coming from

Europe, it becomes immediately necessary to secure to the Company such an income as will bear them clear of charges, and bring in, besides, a supply for the emergencies of their other settlements, and for providing cargoes for loading home their ships.—The first question then that naturally occurs is this :

WHETHER that great force is wanted ? That a less force would secure the settlement of Fort William, with its former bounds, against every thing that is now in the country, is not to be doubted ; but it is as certain, that nothing but that influence and weight, which we maintain by the largeness of our force, can possibly prevent the well-known designs of the two principal European powers, who have long shared with us the benefit of the trade of this country ; and to this we may add, that the nearer we approach to a peace in Europe, the nearer we are to our danger here.

THESE considerations having their due weight, we believe few will dispute the necessity of keeping up our present force, perhaps augmenting it : this granted, it follows, that means must be found within ourselves of supporting the expence ; and these means can be no other than a proportionable share of the revenues of the country.

By the treaty made with the present Nabob, he is obliged, as often as it may be requisite for our troops to take the field, to furnish a lack of rupees a month for their expence ; but the uncertainty of this payment has been too long experienced to be any more depended on ; nor indeed is it by any means sufficient to answer the purpose, supposing the payments regularly made : it must therefore be proposed to the Nabob, to assign to the Company a much larger income, and to assign it in such a full and ample manner, by giving to the Company the sole right of such districts as lie most convenient for our management ; that we may no longer be subject to the inconveniences we experienced from the late grants, being orders only on a certain part of the revenues.—From the experienced weakness and unsteadiness of the Nabob himself, and the nature of those dependents who now rule him, and who by self-interested views must naturally oppose every increase of our power, as their own will, of course, be proportionably lessened ; it is to be supposed, that such a proposal would meet with all the difficulties that could possibly be thrown in our way. Notwithstanding those difficulties, we will suppose we should have weight enough to over-rule his counsellors, and to obtain his consent. We then just keep our present footing. We have a fund for pay-
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ing our troops; and those troops must be employed in the service of the Nabob and this service, the same as for these two last years, in opposing the Prince, whose designs upon these provinces it is almost certain will be pursued.

FROM the experience of these two years, it is pretty clear that our troops, although always victorious in the field, yet they cannot, by their success, put an end to the troubles: the same cause which has prevented it still exists; the nature of those people, in alliance with whom we are to act, who will not pursue the advantages we gain; and we not having the means in our power, for want of a body of cavalry under our command.—Thus the war may be protracted for years to come; and every year the Nabob's circumstances grow worse and worse, through an increase of expence and loss of revenue, not only by the devastations the enemy make, but by the continual defection of some of his own Rajahs and dependents: many in the course of the two last years have declared themselves; and that others are ripe for doing the same is not to be doubted, particularly the Rajah of Beerboon, in a letter the Governor lately received from him, has spoke his sentiments very freely. The province of Patna is already so much reduced by the two last campaigns, as to be incapable of affording subsistence to the Prince any longer, who must always find on the spot the means of carrying on the war, having no resources within himself; and who consequently must, through necessity, attempt next year to penetrate further into Bengal.

It is therefore next to be considered, whether it is best, for the interest of the Nabob, to pursue the present measures, by continuing to oppose the Prince, or to support him in his pretensions to the crown of Dehli:—The two parties still subsist, between whom the throne is disputed; or rather, who shall give a king to that throne. One of those parties has repeatedly invited the Prince; and it is well known what offers he has made, both to the Nabob and us, for our assistance: the same reasons may be supposed yet to have their weight with him, while the dispute remains undecided; and is it not probable that such an assistance given to the Prince, and thrown into Abdallah's scale, would insure the success of the enterprize? The immediate consequence of this to Bengal would be clearing the country of an enemy, by removing the cause whence all the late troubles and confusion have arose; and if we with

reason flatter ourselves we should succeed, what advantages may not the Company expect?

SUPPOSING this change of measures does not appear to the Nabob in the light we have represented, it is to be considered whether the exigencies of the Company's affairs, before described, do not require our forming such connections, independently of him, as may over-rule the advice and sway of his creatures and ministers.

THE death of the young Nabob having created a number of separate interests, which it is impossible to conciliate to the satisfaction of all, and thereby gives the fairest opportunity to any other European power to gain a party to support them in their designs of establishing an influence here, is an inducement to make us follow such a system, as will put this the most out of their power.

THE share of influence we now enjoy in these provinces, however great in appearance, does not carry with it those real advantages and weighty effects which are necessary, not to leave that power in danger of being disputed, and of failing us at a time when we most want it; and nothing is more probable than that that period will happen on a peace: to prevent the evil consequences of this, there seems now to offer such an opportunity of securing to ourselves all we could wish in this respect, as likely may never happen again; an opportunity that will give us both power and right.

IT is hardly to be doubted but the Prince would be willing to enter into a negotiation with us, independent of the Nabob; but such a measure would neither be for the interest nor the honour of our nation. Our views in adopting this system, should be directed rather to strengthen, than weaken or overthrow the present Soubah:—all we desire is, to see the power removed out of the hands of that set of men, who now rule and direct the affairs of the Soubah, and through whose mismanagement and frauds the country and his administration suffer so considerably: to have such a share of power invested in the Company, as will enable them to prevent the bad consequences of so many contending interests; that will effectually put a stop to that dissipation of revenues, which hath reduced the Nabob to his present distressed condition; which revenue, if properly applied, would leave him nor us any thing to fear from the designs of any enemy; effectually secure to us such a fund as would answer all our present exigencies; and in

time prove an encrease of honour and advantage to the nation and the Company.

Henry Vansittart,
Wm. B. Sumner,
J. Z. Holwell.

Fort William, Sept. 15th, 1760.

At a Select Committee ; Present,
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President,
Colonel Caillaud,
Wm. Brightwell Sumner,
J. Zephaniah Holwell,
William M'Gwire, Esqrs.

READ, approved, and signed, the proceedings of the 11th instant.

THE great objects of our present deliberation are, first, the securing a fund of money for the present and future exigencies of this settlement, as well as the other two presidencies, no money being expected from Europe: and, secondly, the putting an end to the disturbances fomented and kept up by the Prince in several parts of these provinces: that the whole may be united under the Nabob, and he put under the more immediate influence of the Company, whose force is his chief support and dependence. By this means enabling us to join a large body of country troops to our own, to oppose any attempts of European or country powers.

THE question to be considered is, Whether we can best arrive at these ends by following the present system of opposing the Prince, or by proposing to him an alliance with the English, and the assistance of part of our forces to proceed with him to Dehli, and support him in his pretensions to the throne?

IN following the present system, the chief difficulties that occur are these:

1st, How to provide for the payment of the Nabob's troops, and our army, that are opposed to the Prince at Patna.

2dly, How to prevail on the Nabob, besides supplying the above demand, to furnish us here with the money wanted for our military and commercial occasions, and for the supply of the other presidencies.

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3dly, The

3dly, The possibility of the Prince's meeting with better success than heretofore; and in that case, What would be our situation?

4thly, The defection of different chiefs in the country, encouraged by the Prince, by which the revenues of such districts are lost, and those adjacent lessened by their incursions.

5thly, Supposing we yet meet with success, how shall we put an end to the war, having experienced, that gaining a victory over the Prince, does not deprive him of the means of renewing his attempts?

6thly, Supposing we should even be able to push our success so far as to drive the Prince out of the province, would the confused and impoverished state of the country furnish us immediately with the means of raising the sums wanted for the general occasions of the Company?

IN following the second system proposed, the chief difficulties that occur are these:

1st, How to gain the Nabob's consent.

2dly, The state of the country considered, when such a force is drawn from it, as will enable us to assist the Prince.

3dly, How to satisfy the Prince's party, few of whom will be induced to follow him.

4thly, How an immediate sum of money is to be found, that will give us enough to supply the army on the Coast, the payment of our troops here, and a present to the Prince.

5thly, Are we to inform the Nabob, before the negotiation is begun, of what our demands are to be, or is he to receive them afterwards, as orders from his King, when we have declared him such? If the latter, is there no danger of his refusing to comply with them? And if he does, how are we to manage? If the former, will it not much increase the difficulty of gaining his consent?

THE raising the sum wanted is a difficulty in both cases almost insurmountable:—it certainly cannot be obtained without imposing on the Nabob, forcibly, terms which, of his own good-will, he never would come into. In favour of the change of system, it is to be said, that the means and resources of the country, from which the money must come, will be more capable of supplying

supplying it when the war is removed, by the march of the Prince to the northward.

CONSEQUENTLY those which we can prevail on to take part with us in this project, and to assist us in bringing the Nabob into it, will be more ready to advance money upon the promise of holding the principal employments.

AND as on both sides there must be some kind of force or violence exerted over the Nabob's inclinations, it may be done with a better grace, as well as more effect, by means of orders from the Prince.

WITH regard to our forces, and the disposition of them with respect to the security of the Company's settlements here, it must be considered that in both cases our troops must be divided:—at Patna they are more at hand to be called to join us in case of necessity; but yet so distant, that probably the threatened danger would be upon us before they could arrive, and the road would be open for the Prince to follow immediately; and, after having taken possession of the most valuable parts of the province, to join our enemies; which would make our situation even worse than before.

THE Committee, therefore, are of opinion, all circumstances considered, that the settlements here will be more secure, with the forces that will remain here, if by joining our army to the Prince, and marching with him to the northward, we can put an end to all the inland troubles here, than in the present disposition of keeping that army at Patna, to make head against the Prince, especially if we can procure such terms as will enable us to assemble on any occasion a large country force to co-operate with us here; and such terms, we doubt not, the Prince will immediately offer.

RESOLVED therefore unanimously, That the entering into an alliance with the Prince is a necessary and expedient measure. The President is accordingly desired to press Cossim Ally Khan on the subject of our expences, and our great distress for money, so as to draw from him some proposal of means for removing those difficulties; by which probably we may be able to form a judgment, whether he might not be brought to join in this negotiation, and in procuring the Nabob's consent. There is another person here, Roydullub, who has been long under our protection, and whose attachment to the Company is not to be doubted: through him it is thought this intention may best be opened to the Prince; but as an interview between him and the President, at this time, might look suspicious, and give an alarm

to the Nabob, Mr. Holwell is desired to open the affair to him, and take his advice how best to manage.

Henry Vansittart,
Wm. B. Sumner,
J. Z. Holwell.

Fort William, September the 16th, 1760.

At a select Committee; Present,
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esq; President,
Colonel Caillaud,
Wm. B. Sumner, Esq;
J. Z. Holwell, Esq;
Wm. M'Gwire, Esq;

READ, approved, and signed, the proceedings of the 15th instant.

THE President acquaints the Committee, that in a long conversation he had last night with Cossim Ally Khan, he had an opportunity of making some progress towards the discoveries requisite for carrying on the negotiation proposed yesterday:—that, without letting him know any thing of our design, he had led him to make such declarations of his desire to have the rule over the Nabob, and the general management of the affairs of the province, as amount almost to a proof of his readiness to act the part intended for him.

AFTER telling him much of our regard, and of our opinion of him as the fittest person for conducting the great affairs of the Bengal government, I began to make him strong representations on the subject of the Company's expences: that the immediate charges of the army exceeded far the sum assigned for that purpose; which sum also was not regularly paid, there being three or four months arrears:—that besides this, he could not but be sensible how much the Company gave up in other parts, for the sake of providing for the security of Bengal, withdrawing their forces from the Deccan and from Madraſs, and sending continually fresh supplies from Europe. I represented to him further, the great loss the Company had suffered by the long continuance of the present war with the Prince; and how much it was to be wished, for the general benefit, that an end could be put to it, so as to enable the Nabob to reduce his expences, and collect his full revenues, of which

which a great part is now lost by the ravages of the enemy, particularly the whole produce of the Patna province.

IN answer to this, Cossim Ally Khan replied, That he has it not at present in his power to provide in a proper manner for the supply of the Company:—that if we could undertake to give him the general management of the country, by taking it out of the hands of those who are now intrusted with it by the Nabob, he would then make such assignments in favour of the Company, as should be perfectly to our satisfaction.—At the same time he insinuated, that this would undoubtedly meet with opposition at Muxadavad, and at first prove very disagreeable to the Nabob himself: for which reason it would be quite necessary to have a force at hand to support him; by which being enabled to over-rule the present evil counsellors of the Nabob, he could answer for bringing the Nabob himself into such terms as shall be agreed on here.—With respect to the Prince, he did not seem to have any notion of offering him peace; but said, he should be able to keep up a sufficient force to frustrate any future attempts on this province. The President, thinking this a sufficient progress for the first conference, did not make him acquainted with our intended negotiation with the Prince, and which he imagines may better be opened to him by one of his old confidants. Cossim Ally Khan professed a regard for Roydullub, and a desire to see him; but, as it was thought such an interview could not be brought about with secrecy, and, if known, would give an alarm to the Nabob, it was therefore determined to confide in Cojah Petrose, as the fittest person to make known our whole plan to Cossim Ally Khan.

Mr. Holwell's Report of his Conversation with Roydullub.

MR. Holwell acquaints the Committee, That, agreeable to their resolution of yesterday, he had last night a conference with Rajah Roydullub; who received the overture with much satisfaction, and approved in general of the plan; but thought there was some objection to the proposed manner of addressing the Prince, as it would cause much unnecessary delay, which for many obvious reasons should be avoided, and would not give him the weight necessary on this occasion, to obtain an immediate stop being put to the Prince's operations: that he thought our waiting for an overture from him was

was too nice a punctilio at this juncture; because he knows the Prince is in such a situation, as will not permit his hesitating to accept any terms we offer. He thinks nothing can prevent or delay his immediate concession to all we ask, but the article of confirming Meer Jaffier, on account of his personal repentment; therefore says, we had better demand at once the whole power of the government to be lodged in the English Company; and then we may confirm Meer Jaffier ourselves, if we think he deserves it.—That there is no occasion to stipulate for particular lands for the maintenance of the troops and ordnance, as the revenues of certain districts are always set apart for that purpose.—He requests, he may not be thought of for the post of Roy Rayen, but that he may be favoured with that of the Buxays Neabut (pay-master and deputy) under the Company. He thinks he shall be able, without much difficulty, to conciliate matters with Comgar Cawn, Bulwanfing, and the other Rajahs of the Prince's party, as they are most of them his friends. He assures the Committee, he highly approves of the intended promotion of Meer Cossim Ally Khan to the Dewannee, and will most readily co-operate with him in all matters conducive to the completion of our plan, as the only possible means left to recover the peace and flourishing state of the provinces, and revive the Company's trade and influence.

Henry Vanfittart,
W. B. Sumner,
J. Z. Holwell.

C H A P. VIII.

The Revolution in favour of Cossim Ally Khan, in October 1760.

Fort William, 24th October 1760.

At a select Committee; Present,
William Ellis, Esq; President,
William Brightwell Sumner, Esq;
William M'Gwire, Esq;

Received

Received the following letter from the President, and Colonel Caillaud,
dated at Miradbag the 21st instant.

“ GENTLEMEN,

“ **T**HE Governor wrote you yesterday of the affairs here being settled to the Company’s advantage: we shall now have the honour to acquaint you of the steps by which we advanced to this point of success.

“ THE Nabob’s visit to the Governor at Cossimbuzar, the 15th of the month, as well as that we paid him the next day in return, passed only in general conversation; the 18th, he came here to talk upon business. In order to give him a more clear and full view of the bad management of his ministers, by which his own affairs, as well as the Company’s, are reduced to so dangerous a state, and the inhabitants in general to want and misery, we had prepared three letters, which, after a short and friendly introduction, the Governor delivered to him, and of which translations are hereunto annexed, under No. 1, 2, and 3.

“ THE Nabob seemed much affected by the perusal of the letters, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference than to propose a remedy to the evils: we, however, prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Moradbag, and, in a manner, insisted on his coming to some determination for the immediate reform of his government. At length he confessed himself, through age and grief, incapable of struggling against so many difficulties: he desired time to consult with his friends. We told him, the men with whom he had lately advised were not his friends, but his greatest enemies; that his returning again in the midst of them, would only be the means of augmenting his difficulties; that he had much better take the assistance of one from among his relations, on whose true attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely; he named five or six, and among them Cossim Ally Khan. We asked him which of that number was the most proper to assist him in his present exigencies: he replied, without any hesitation, That Cossim Ally Khan was the most proper; nevertheless, it was with the utmost difficulty we could prevail on him to send for him; and so very late, that before Cossim Ally Khan could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that we could not refuse his return home to take his rest. We were convinced indeed, that it would be to no

purpose to keep him; for such was the jealousy he discovered with respect to Cossim Ally Khan, that we saw he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means of restoring order to his affairs. An hour or two after the Nabob's departure, Cossim Ally Khan arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive, that the Nabob, instead of intrusting him with the management of affairs, would endeavour by some means or other to get rid of him. We agreed therefore in opinion with him, that he should not go to the Nabob's house, until measures were taken for his security: we resolved, however, to give the Nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before mentioned, in hopes he would propose some means of regulation. We heard nothing from him all day, but found by our intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers, Keneram, Moonital, and Checon, whose advice, we were sure, would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. We determined therefore to act immediately upon the Nabob's fears. There could not be a better opportunity, than the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies. We determined therefore, that Colonel Caillaud, with the two companies of military, and six companies of seapoys, should cross the river between three and four in the morning, and, having joined Cossim Ally Khan and his people, march to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day-break. Being extremely desirous of preventing any disturbance or bloodshed, Governor Vansittart wrote a letter to the Nabob (the translation of which is annexed, No. 4.) and delivered it to the Colonel, to send in to him at such time as he should think most expedient: measures were at the same time taken for seizing the persons of Keneram, Moonital, and Checon; our intention being only to remove those three unworthy ministers, and place Cossim Ally Khan in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob.—The Governor remained at Moradbag, in readiness to pay a visit of congratulation to the Durbar, as soon as the point should be settled.

THE necessary preparations being accordingly made with all care and secrecy possible, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Ally Khan without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace, just at the proper instant: the gates of the inner court being shut, the Colonel formed his men without, and then sent the Governor's letter to the Nabob, who

who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance he could, and take his fate. The Colonel forbore all hostilities; and several messages passed, by the means of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Lushington, whose services on this occasion deserve notice.—The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob, finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Ally Khan, informing him, he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the King, to save his life and his honour, and to give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Ally Khan was proclaimed; and the old Nabob came out to the Colonel, declaring, that he depended upon him for his life: and the troops then took possession of all the gates, and notice was sent to the Governor, who came immediately; and the old Nabob met him in the gateway, asking, If his person was safe? which seemed now to be all his concern. The Governor told him, not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it never was intended to deprive him. The Nabob answered, That he had nothing more to busy him at the city; that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Ally Khan; and that if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented. Though we could not help lamenting his sudden fall, we were not sorry for this proposal, as affairs will, doubtless, be better managed without him, and the advantages stipulated for the Company be obtained without the least difficulty or delay. Cossim Ally Khan was accordingly seated on the throne, and we paid him our congratulations in the usual form: all the jemmitdaars, merchants, and others, residing in the city, came immediately, and made their acknowledgments to the new Soubah; and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet as if there had been no change. The people in general seem much pleased with this revolution, and we are particularly happy in its being brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

THE advantages to the Company are great indeed.—The grants of the countries of Burdwan, and Midnapore, and Chittigon, we shall receive immediately, as well as that for half of the chunam * already produced at Silket.—A very

* Lime made of shells, which the natives eat with their beetle. The same name is given to lime made of stone.

severe order has already been issued, forbidding all the serafs (bankers) and merchants to refuse the Calcutta siccas, (silver rupees) or to ask any batta (exchange) on them. A supply of money will be sent with the Colonel, for the payment of the troops at Patna, and we have even some hopes of obtaining three or four lack * besides, to send down to Calcutta, to help out the Company in their present occasions there, and at Madrafs.—The former balance is to be paid monthly, according to the old Nabob's kistbundy (agreement of payments to be made).

WE are the more pleased with this fortunate event at this time, when the approach of peace in Europe gives us reason to fear the other European nations will find leisure to disturb us here. We shall now have strong resources within ourselves, and an ally, whose attachment to the Company may be relied on. The old Nabob could by no means be depended on for such an occasion; both his means and desire of supporting us were very uncertain, as his behaviour in the Dutch troubles evinced.

THE old Nabob did not think himself safe even for one night in the city. Cossim Ally Khan supplied him with boats, and gave him leave to take away as many of his family as he desired, and a reasonable quantity of cloaths and jewels. We furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and seapoys, and intended to lodge him at Herogil; but he would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats close to Moradbag, which he did accordingly. We shall take care that Cossim Ally Khan provides every thing that is convenient and handsome for him and his family, and settles upon him a sufficient allowance for his maintenance, and then dispatch him with a strong escort to Calcutta. You will please to provide two houses for his reception; there are two belonging to Sooberam Byfack and Raufberry Seat, which the Ray Rayen occupied, when he was in Calcutta; if these can be had, we judge they will answer well.

His legitimate wife, called the Begum, mother of the deceased Chuta Nabob, and of Cossim Ally Khan's wife, refused to accompany the old Nabob, with whom, she says, she has not been in good harmony for a long time past; that she is extremely glad the government is put into such

* Lack of rupees, one hundred thousand rupees, value two shillings and six-pence each. A lack of rupees amounts to 12,500l. sterling.

good hands; and that she shall live much happier with her daughter and son-in-law.

THE old Nabob is now pretty easy, and seems to be reconciled to the loss of a power, which he owns to have been rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage, since the death of his son; and the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security, under the English protection, seems to be the chief object of his wishes.

No. 1. *Translation of an Address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan by the Governor, dated 18th October, 1760.*

WHEN I was at Madras, Colonel Clive frequently wrote to me on the state of affairs in this country, and told me, that whenever he quitted this country to return to Europe, he would procure my appointment to the government. The friendship and connections between your Excellency and the Colonel are well known to me, and I hoped to have found all affairs carried on entirely according to the treaty; but what I observed upon my arrival, I shall now lay before you particularly.

1st, The English forces who are employed in your service, and in the support of your government at Patna, are kept without their pay.

2dly, The forces which are stationed in those parts, are discontented, and disaffected to the service, for want of pay.

3dly, The seapoys at Muxadabad had surrounded the palace in a tumultuous manner, for the arrears of their pay, and endangered your life: How deeply I was affected cannot be expressed: God is witness of what I felt upon that occasion.

4thly, I plainly perceived, that the ministers of this court, from their covetousness and base dispositions, had set aside all justice, were plundering the poor without cause, and doing what they pleased, nor even withholding their hands from the lives of the people, destroying the subjects, and bringing ruin and desolation on the country.

5thly, The scarcity of provisions, &c. is so great as was never before known in this country, insomuch that the people of all degrees are in the greatest distress.—This can be owing to no other cause, than the bad management of your ministers.

6thly,

6thly, Formerly, at the desire of the English Company, a mint was established in Calcutta; and it was your order, that the siccas of Calcutta, of the same weight and fineness with the siccas of Muxadabad, should pass for equal value. Notwithstanding your directions for enforcing this grant, the officers of the King's province have not suffered them to pass, but require and insist on exchange on the siccas.

7thly, The war with the Sha Zaddah still continues: notwithstanding the sums expended, and the endeavours of the English forces, this affair is yet no nearer to a conclusion than the first day; no part of the soubahship of Patna (except the city) remains in your possession; all the lands and villages are in a state of ruin; and the Zemindars (land-holders) in every place are ready to join the Sha Zaddah's army, as appears from the letter to me to this purpose from Beerboen.—From these circumstances it evidently appears to me, that all these difficulties came to pass after the death of your son, the late Chuta Nabob; from which time your ministers regarding only their own interest, neglect the good of the country, and the welfare of the subjects, and employ themselves in oppressing the poor, in rapine, violence, injustice, and iniquity.—When I saw the affairs of the government in the hands of such faithless and unworthy men, and every thing tending still farther to ruin, I lifted up my eyes to Heaven, and bewailed my strange fate, that Providence should send me into this country at such a time, and in the midst of such calamities; when the dignity of the Nabob, the reputation of the Company, and the prosperity of the country, are almost expired. After long consideration, I concluded I would make one vigorous trial immediately to remedy all these evils, hoping, by God's assistance, to surmount all difficulties: for this reason, I am come with great joy into your presence, and am happy in paying you my respects.

No. 2. *Translation of an Address presented to the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan by the Governor, dated the 18th October.*

THE ministers that are about your person, and who transact your business, are people that are ever wavering and changeable in their councils, as is evident from the directions you frequently sent me. You also sent me word
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by the Nabob Cossim Ally Khan and the Ray Rayen, that the business of the most consequence was to get Maha Rajahbullub down from Patna: I therefore, agreeable to your desire, wrote to Mr. Amyatt to send him down. God only knows what counsel your ministers gave, that the order was deferred being sent; but that is the true cause of the troubles now at Patna. It is a known maxim, that a government where the councils change every day, cannot be well regulated.

No. 3. *Translation of a Letter presented to the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, by the Governor, dated the 18th October, 1760.*

THE important affairs, for the regulation of which I have waited on you, I submitted to your consideration in a separate address, containing seven articles; now that I am here, is the time for opening the door of the difficulties therein mentioned, which is only to be effected by the key of your enlightened wisdom. If this opportunity be lost, another will hardly occur, when we can meet together so conveniently. Besides the particulars which I have taken notice of, and the payment of arrears due to the English troops, and those of the government, it is necessary to make a large provision for future exigencies.—You have already given in pledge, jewels for a large amount, to be discharged by different payments, agreed and signed to, in your hand; how this sum is to be paid, unless the country is settled, I don't perceive. The pay allowed for the English army has been limited to one lack of rupees per month; as the disturbances in the country have increased every day, for that reason large sums have been expended in bringing soldiers from Europe and Madras, and in raising seapoys: on this account a lack of rupees is by no means sufficient. Let your Excellency duly reflect, that your own seapoys, in the time of extremity, preferring their own safety, have joined with the forces of the enemy; and the English forces, devoted entirely to your service, and the destruction of your enemies, never were guilty of such a conduct, nor ever will; and, by the blessing of God, wherever the English standard has been fixed, they have always proved victorious. Upon this account, it is by no means becoming your wisdom to neglect such brave men, or to deny them their due rewards. It is necessary, that for this business your Excel-

lency

lency grant the Company some certain lands, sufficient for the disbursement of the pay of the troops, the expences of the artillery, and the provisions of stores, &c. that, without any trouble to yourself, all their charges may be defrayed, from the produce of these lands, and our arms always ready to be employed in your service ; otherwise I must submit to necessity. My concern for my honour will not suffer me to be unmoved at the Company's loss ; but I must seek some expedient for promoting the interest of the Company, and removing the evils they are oppressed with ; and those expedients must be adopted : but if your affliction for the death of your son has taken that hold upon your mind, that you cannot attend to the remedying such great difficulties, it is proper that you appoint some capable person from amongst your children, in the place and dignity of your said son, the Nabob Nasir ool Moolk, who may take charge of all these affairs, regulate the business of the country, and remove all these difficulties ; that your Excellency, freed from all the troubles and fatigues of the transactions, may remain without care, and the shadow of your protection overspread the whole.

No. 4. *Translation of a Letter from the Governor to the Nabob, dated the 19th October, at night.*

I HAVE been waiting all this day, in expectation that you would have settled some of the weighty and urgent affairs, upon which I yesterday conferred with you, and that you would have acquainted me with your determination ; but you have not favoured me with any answer concerning them ; from hence it plainly appears, that as long as those evil counsellors remain about your person, whatsoever I may represent to you for your prosperity and welfare, and the good of this country, will have no effect. The folly of these people will soon deprive you of your government, and prove the ruin, likewise, of the Company's affairs : I have judged it improper, that such evils and disgrace should be brought upon us, for the sake of two or three men ; for this reason I have sent Colonel Caillaud, with forces, to wait upon you ; when the said Colonel arrives, he will expel those bad counsellors, and place your affairs in a proper state. I will shortly follow. Let not your Excellency be under any apprehensions, but chearfully receive the Colonel ; and give orders to your men, that they make no disturbances, nor raise tumults
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in the city. I solemnly declare, that I have no other view but your good and welfare. Look upon me as your sincere well-wisher, and remain satisfied.

Agreed, we write the following Letter to the President, and Colonel Caillaud.

“ G E N T L E M E N,

“ **W**E have been honoured with your favour of the 21st, and one from the President of the 20th instant, by which we have been informed of the great success that has attended your operations: we must congratulate you on your having amply effected the intended purposes, without the effusion of blood, or any disturbance; and are highly pleased to find the Nabob so well reconciled to his present situation. We doubt not but what has been so well begun, will be concluded for the benefit and advantage of the Company; and that the affairs of the government will, in future, be put on a secure and proper footing.

“ WE have given the necessary directions for the reception and accommodation of the old Nabob, whenever he arrives in Calcutta.

“ A FEW days, we flatter ourselves, will bring this matter to a conclusion; and that we shall, very shortly, have the pleasure of the Governor's presence with us.

W. Ellis,
Wm. B. Sumner.”

Fort William, 8th November 1760.

At a Consultation; Present,

The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esq; President,

William Ellis, Esq;

William B. Sumner, Esq;

Harry Verelst, Esq;

Harry Smith, Esq;

Samuel Waller, Esq;

Culling Smith, Esq;

William M'Gwire, Esq; indisposed.

Y

MR.

Mr. Verelst delivers in his opinion, upon the measures lately taken by the select Committee, as follows :

Mr. Verelst begs leave to observe, That the Board had been, till now, kept entirely ignorant of the proceedings of the select Committee, relating to the present revolution, and their motives for it ; he therefore cannot pretend to judge how far such a step was necessary ; but thinks, that on an affair of such immediate consequence to the Company's estates in these parts, the most mature consideration of the whole Board should have been first had ; that a treaty, executed in the most solemn manner, subsisted between Meer Jaffier and us ; the most faithful adherence to which, as well as all other our engagements, has preserved that influence and power we have maintained ever since the re-capture of Calcutta ; a steadiness to which treaty made the British admired, nay, even courted, by every Prince throughout those provinces, and has ever been fatal to the Prince apparent of the empire, and many other disturbers, who have hitherto weakly endeavoured to engage us to break through those solemn ties we were sworn to. As this sudden change must alarm every one, to find us so unexpectedly breaking through all our engagements, which were so public, reputable, and to the honour of the nation, he cannot be blamed, as a member of this Board, for expressing his dissatisfaction at being made a cypher of, in so critical a concern.

Mr. Smith begs leave to observe, he is of the same opinion with Mr. Verelst.

THE President begs leave to remark upon the foregoing minutes, That though Mr. Verelst and Mr. Smith might, without the least presumption, think that they, and the rest of the gentlemen of the Committee, ought to have been consulted upon an affair of so much importance, before it was carried into execution, yet, their venturing to condemn, or approve, before they know the nature of the engagements entered into, the reason why, or the manner in which, the whole was conducted, seems rather premature, especially as they had an opportunity of so soon making themselves competent judges ; the whole being now ordered to be laid before the Board, as mentioned in the former part of these minutes : the reason why the whole Council was not before informed, was, that it was an affair that absolutely required secrecy, and it is expressly for the conduct of such affairs, that the honourable the Court of Directors has thought proper to appoint a select Committee : to the secrecy which was observed, may, in great measure, be attributed the
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speedy and easy success which attended the execution, and the preventing all disturbance, and loss of blood.

Monday.

Fort William, 10th November 1760.

At a Consultation; Present,

The Honourable Henry Vanstittart, Esq; President,

William Ellis, Esq;

William B. Sumner, Esq;

William M'Gwire, Esq;

Harry Verelst, Esq;

Harry Smith, Esq;

A Memorial, setting forth the Causes of the late Change in the Soubahship of Bengal.

THE Nabob, Jaffier Ally Khan, was of a temper extremely tyrannical and avaricious, at the same time very indolent; and, the people about him being either abject slaves and flatterers, or else the base instruments of his vices, there was no chance of having the affairs of the government properly conducted but by their removal: he attributed all the ill success of his affairs to imaginary plots and contrivances, and sacrificed lives, without mercy, to the excess of his jealousy: numberless are the instances of men, of all degrees, whose blood he has spilt without the least assigned reason. To learn the names and circumstances of all these sufferers, would be a work of time; but some of the most striking examples are these following:

COJA HUDDEE, the first Buxey, (paymaster) first banished for a pretended conspiracy against the Nabob's life, and afterwards cut off at Shahbad, in his march out of the province.

MIR CAZIM, the second Buxey, invited by the Chuta Nabob to his house, and, after having received from him unusual marks of affection, assassinated at the gates of the palace.

ABDEEL OLIVE CAWN, murdered at the Rumna, in the month of March 1760, by some of the Hircarras belonging to Checon, who waylaid him for that purpose, by the Nabob's orders.

YAR MAHMUD, formerly in great favour with the Nabob Surajah Dowla,

and since Droga of the Emarut, slain in the presence of the Chuta Nabob, in the month of April 1760.

GASSEETA BEGUM, widow of the Nabob Shehamut Jung ;

OMNA BEGUM, mother to the Nabob Surajah Dowla ;

MUZADO DOWLA, the son of Padfha Coolly Cawn, adopted by Shehamut Jung ;

LUTFEN NISSA BEGUM, widow of the Nabob, Surajah Dowla ;

HER infant, daughter of Surajah Dowla.

THE five unhappy sufferers, mentioned last, perished all in one night at Dacca, about the month of June 1760 ; where they had been detained prisoners since the accession of Meer Jaffier to the Soubahship ; a perwannah (order) was sent to Jaffaret Cawn, the Naib of Dacca, to put to death all the survivors of the family of the Nabobs Aliverdee Cawn, Shehamut Jung, and Surajah Dowla ; but, upon his declining to obey so cruel an order, the messenger, who had private instructions to execute this tragedy, in case of the other's refusal, took them from the place of their confinement, and, having carried them out at midnight upon the river, drowned them, with about twenty women of inferior note, and attendants. What became of Alivherde Cawn's widow, is uncertain ; it being reported by many, that she escaped the fate of the rest of her family.

EXECUTIONS of this kind had made the Nabob the dread, or the detestation of all good men ; and he necessarily became a prey to the people of mean extraction, and abject dispositions ; who, knowing that a government so managed could not stand long, sought only to make themselves rich, by oppressions of all sorts, upon the country and inhabitants. To the heavy taxes laid by them on the markets, is ascribed the present unusual scarcity and dearth of provisions at the city, the capital of a country, once esteemed the most plentiful in the world.

THE persons who have had the chief shares in this bad management are, Keenooram, Monilol, and Checon, all of low birth ; and the two first, the menial servants of Meer Jaffier, before he came to the soubahship : these manage, so as to engage him continually in idle amusements ; keeping him, by that means, in utter ignorance of his affairs, and in a state of indifference as to their success. No money came into his treasury at the same time ; nothing was paid to his army ; insomuch that his troops mutinied, and surrounded his palace in a tumultuous manner, threatening to
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take away his life ; which they would certainly have done, had not his son-in-law, the present Nabob, Cossim Ally Khan, become answerable, and paid them a very large sum out of his own treasury : this happened last June ; and, though the imminent danger with which his person was threatened on this occasion, awakened him for a moment, no sooner was it removed again to a distance, than he fell back into the lethargy which had so long possessed him. The same unworthy ministers remained still his only counsellors, and continued in the management of his affairs to the last day of his administration, which he left in so confused and impoverished a state, that, in all human appearance, another month could hardly have run through before he would have been cut off by his own seapoys, and the city become a scene of plunder and disorder ; the Nabob having made no further provision for the payment of the long arrears due to his people, after Cossim Ally Khan had freed him from his former extremity. This danger he could not but foresee, and more than once declared his apprehensions, yet had not the power to exert the necessary means for preventing it, but sunk the deeper into dejection.

BESIDES this intestine danger to which the government was exposed, two armies were in the field, and waiting only the fair weather to advance with the Prince towards Patna, and the Beerboom Rajah towards Meershudabad, the capital.—The Rajahs of Bissenpoor Ramgur, and the other countries bordering upon the mountains, were ready to shake off their dependence, and had already afforded considerable supplies to the Beerboom Rajah ; the Rajah of Curruckpoor had committed open hostilities, and taken possession of all the country about Boglepoor, which entirely stopped the communication between the two provinces on that side of the river. In a word, the whole country seemed ripe for an universal revolt, those parts only excepted, whose natural weakness, or neighbourhood with the city, intimidated them from taking up arms. To encounter all these difficulties, there was nothing but troops without pay, from whom therefore no great efforts could be expected ; of this a very recent instance occurs, in the detachment which was ordered against the Beerboom Rajah, three months before the Nabob's abdication, but never advanced more than three coss from the city ; in which situation they continued upon my arrival there.

ALL who are now in Bengal, and acquainted with the transactions of the government, will bear witness, that this is a true description of facts ; and all who are convinced of the facts, will certainly agree, that affairs were at
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an extremity no longer to be neglected, without manifest danger of having the province over-run, and the trade entirely ruined: I was resolved, therefore, to use my utmost endeavours to get these bad ministers removed: and, judging it might be difficult to prevail on the Nabob to part with his favourites without some degree of violence, I brought with me a detachment of Europeans and seapoys, under pretence of sending them with Colonel Caillaud, to reinforce the army at Patna.

I ARRIVED with the Colonel at Cossimbuzar, the 14th of October, and the next day the Nabob paid us a visit; the 16th we went to the city, and returned the visit; on the 18th, the Nabob came to Moradbaug, by appointment, to talk upon business. In the conversation which I had with him in the two former meetings, I had taken occasion to represent to him, in general terms, the bad management of his ministers, the miseries and universal disaffection of the country, and the desperate state of his, as well as the Company's, affairs: in order to give him a more full and clear view of the evils brought on through the weakness of his administration, and to point out the means of their removal, I had prepared three letters, which, after a short and friendly introduction, I delivered to him, of which translations are hereunto annexed, under No. 1, 2, and 3.

THE Nabob seemed much affected by the perusal of the letters, but endeavoured more to put an end to the conference than to propose a remedy to the evils. I however prevailed on him to send for his dinner to Moradbaug, and in a manner insisted on his coming to some determination for the immediate reform of the government; at length he confessed himself, through age, and grief for the late loss of his son, incapable alone of struggling against so many difficulties.—He desired he might have time to consult with his friends; I told him, the men, with whom he had lately advised, were not his friends, but his greatest enemies; that his returning again in the midst of them would only be the means of augmenting his difficulties; that he had much better take the assistance of one from amongst his relations, on whose true attachment and fidelity he might more safely rely. He named five or six, and amongst them Cossim Ally Khan: I asked him which of that number was most fit to assist him in his present exigencies; he replied, without hesitation, That Cossim Ally Khan was the most proper; nevertheless, it was with the utmost difficulty I could prevail on him to send for him, and so very late, that before Cossim Ally Khan could arrive, the old Nabob was so extremely

tremely fatigued, and in such a state of anxiety, that I could not refuse his return home to take his rest. I was convinced indeed that it was to no purpose to detain him; for such was the jealousy he discovered with respect to Cossim Ally Khan, that I saw he never would consent, without some sort of force, to give the other the means of restoring order to his affairs. An hour or two after the Nabob's departure, Cossim Ally Khan arrived, and seemed to be extremely apprehensive that the Nabob, instead of trusting him with the management of his affairs, would endeavour, by some means or other, to get rid of him; I agreed therefore in opinion with him, that he should not go to the Nabob's house until measures were taken for his security: we resolved however to give the Nabob the next day (the 19th) to reflect upon the letters before-mentioned, in hopes that he would propose some measures of regulation.—I heard nothing from him all day, but found, by my intelligence, that he had been in council with his old advisers Keenooram, Monilol, and Checon, whose advice I was sure would be contrary to the welfare of the country in general, and that of the Company in particular. I determined, therefore, to act immediately on the Nabob's fears: there could not be a better opportunity than that the night of the 19th afforded, it being the conclusion of the Gentoo feast, when all the principal people of that cast would be pretty well fatigued with their ceremonies; accordingly I agreed with Colonel Caillaud that he should cross the river with the detachment between three and four in the morning, and, having joined Cossim Ally Khan, and his people, march to the Nabob's palace, and surround it just at day-break. Being extremely desirous to prevent any disturbance or bloodshed, I wrote a letter to the Nabob, a translation of which is annexed, No. 4. and delivered it to the Colonel, to send in to him at such a time as he should think most expedient: measures were taken at the same time for seizing the persons of Keenooram, Monilol, and Checon; my intention being only to remove those three unworthy ministers, and to place Cossim Ally Khan in the full management of all the affairs, in quality of deputy and successor to the Nabob. The necessary preparations being accordingly made, with all the care and secrecy possible, the Colonel embarked with the troops, joined Cossim Ally Khan without the least alarm, and marched into the court-yard of the palace just at the proper instant; the gates of the inner court being shut, the Colonel formed his men without, and sent my letter to the Nabob, who was at first in a great rage, and long threatened he would make what resistance
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he could, and take his fate: the Colonel forbore all hostilities, and several messages passed between him and the Nabob. The affair remained in this doubtful state about two hours, when the Nabob, finding his persisting was to no purpose, sent a message to Cossim Ally Khan, informing him he was ready to send him the seals, and all the ensigns of dignity, provided he would agree to take the whole charge of the government upon him, to discharge all the arrears due to the troops, to pay the usual revenues to the King, to save his life and honour, and give him an allowance sufficient for his maintenance. All these conditions being agreed to, Cossim Ally Khan was proclaimed, and the old Nabob came out to the Colonel, declaring that he depended on him for his life: the troops then took possession of all the gates; and notice being sent to me, I immediately repaired to the palace, and was met by the old Nabob in the gateway; he asked if his person was safe, which seemed now to be all his concern; I told him that not only his person was safe, but his government too, if he pleased, of which it was never intended to deprive him; the Nabob answered, That he had no more business at the city; that he should be in continual danger from Cossim Ally Khan; and that if he was permitted to go and live in Calcutta, he should be extremely happy and contented. Though I could not help lamenting his sudden fall, I was not sorry for this proposal, as I knew affairs would be much better managed without him; and his retaining a share in the authority (however small) could not fail to cause such perplexities as might prove, in so critical and dangerous a juncture, of the worst consequences to the administration. Cossim Ally Khan was accordingly seated on the Musnud, and I paid him my congratulations in the usual form; all the Jemautdars (officers) and persons of distinction at the city came immediately and made their acknowledgments to the new Soubah, and in the evening every thing was as perfectly quiet as if there had been no change; the people in general seemed much pleased with this revolution, which had this peculiar felicity attending it, that it was brought about without the least disturbance in the town, or a drop of blood spilt.

THE Nabob did not think himself safe even for one night in the city: Cossim Ally Khan supplied him with boats, and permitted him to take away as many of his family as he desired (which he did to about the number of sixty) with a reasonable quantity of jewels. I furnished him with a strong escort of Europeans and seapoys, and intended to lodge him at Nezajeel; but he would

would not trust himself there, and begged he might sleep in his boats close to Moradbaug, which he accordingly did.—He continued at Moradbaug the next day, and in the evening I visited him, with Colonel Caillaud.—He appeared then pretty easy, and reconciled to the loss of a power, which he owned to be rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage, since the death of his son; and the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security under the English protection seemed to be the chief object of his wishes.

ON the morning of the 22d he set out for Calcutta, and arrived there the 29th. He was met by a deputation from the Council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity.

C H A P. IX.

Opinions on the Revolution in favour of Cossim Ally Khan. His Conduct; and Transactions during his Reign.

Fort William, the 8th January, 1761.

Thursday.

At a Consultation; Present,
The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esq; President,
Peter Amyatt, Esquire,
William Ellis, Esquire,
William Brightwell Sumner, Esquire,
Harry Smyth, Esquire,
Culling Smith, Esquire.

Mr. Amyatt's Minute concerning the Revolution.

MR. AMYATT takes this opportunity to observe, that he is of opinion, the reasons given for deposing of Jaffier Ally Khan (for he can look upon it in no other light) are far from being sufficient to convict him of breach of faith; consequently, in the eyes of the world, the whole odium of such a proceeding

ceeding must fall upon ourselves. The cruelties of which he is accused, must, to a civilized government, appear shocking; but in despotic ones, there are none entirely free from instances of this kind, as their own fears and jealousies are ever prompting them to such unwarrantable actions; and it is well known, that the present Nabob has already fallen into the same feverities, as likewise, that he has shewn marks of favour to those ministers, who, we are told, "saw with an evil eye the influence of the Company, and readily snatched at any occasion to reduce it." Meer Jaffier's being confirmed by the Court at Dehli in the soubahship, was a very valuable consideration, which ought not to have been overlooked, because, whenever that distracted state is restored to peace and tranquillity, he being legally in possession of the government, would of course be confirmed by the reigning king, without hesitation; whereas the obtaining so great a favour for Cossim Ally Khan must be attended with both difficulty and expence. The treaty subsisting between us and Cossim Ally Khan, plainly shews, that his sole aim, at the time of entering into it, was the soubahdarry of Bengal; otherwise, how ridiculous was it for him to make a promise of ceding certain countries to the Company, which his post of Duan could never have given him the power of executing? The great advantages expected to accrue from these countries, it is feared, will prove merely imaginary, as it is now near three months since the revolution was effected, and yet, so far from any appearance of extricating ourselves from the difficulties, as expected, we are involved in fresh troubles every day; which will not appear strange, when we cast our eyes upon the person we have raised to the Musnud, (throne) whose character was never conspicuous in any light till lately, and whose treacherous behaviour to his father-in-law leaves us very little hope of his attachment to our interest; nor indeed can it be expected, that he will place any confidence in us, who have assisted to dethrone a man we were bound to support by the most solemn ties, divine and human; such a breach of faith must necessarily occasion the loss of our influence in this country, and bereave us of that superiority which our steady adherence to our promise ever gave us over these people. For the above reasons, Mr. Amyatt dissents to the whole transaction; and further declares, That he never was consulted nor advised with concerning it, nor did he know that it was even intended, till public report had informed him of its execution.

Mr.

Mr. Ellis's Minute.

MR. ELLIS's sentiments, with regard to the revolution, agree entirely with Mr. Amyatt's, and he dissents to it for the same reasons.

Mr. Smyth's Minute.

MR. SMYTH is of the same opinion likewise as Mr. Amyatt, as he has once already intimated to the Board.

Letter to the Honourable the Secret Committee, dated 11th March, 1762.

To the Honourable the Secret Committee for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies.

HONOURABLE SIRS,

IT gives us the greatest concern to be obliged to address you in the manner we are now under the necessity of doing; but, as we have publicly declared our dissent from the last revolution in the kingdom of Bengal, and expressed our entire disapprobation of the measures pursued consequent thereto, it is our duty to acquaint you with our reasons for having differed in opinion from the gentlemen who were accessory to that revolution, lest ill-minded people should represent our opposition as a faction, instead of owing its rise, as it really does, to our strict regard to what we think conducive to the honour of our country, and the interests of our employers. Had the whole Board been consulted, we dare assert this measure would have been rejected by the majority; and we humbly refer to you, whether the opinion of every member thereof ought not to have been taken by the President, before he ventured upon so bold a step as the subversion of a government.

You were informed last year of the surprising revolution in favour of Mir Mahammed Cossim Ally Khan; which would necessarily be represented in the most favourable light, by the gentlemen who promoted it. But, whatever judgment you may have been led to entertain of the measure from their account of it, we cannot but think you will judge as ill of it as we do, when

you are truly informed of the circumstances with which it was attended, the manner in which it was executed, and the steps that have been since taken to support it: of these we will give you as succinct an account as possible.

At a time when there was not the least appearance of a rupture or disgust between us and the Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, on the contrary, a friendship and harmony subsisted, Mir Cossim Khan, his son-in-law, came down to Calcutta, on some pretence or other, to visit Mr. Vansittart; and having staid a short time, he returned to Moorshedabad. A few days after Mir Cossim's departure, Mr. Vansittart went up to Moorshedabad on the pretence of a visit to the Nabob; Colonel Caillaud, with a party of two hundred Europeans, and some seapoys, attended him, who, to remove the suspicion which such a force would have necessarily occasioned, it was pretended were going up to Patna to reinforce the army there. When Mr. Vansittart arrived at Moradbaug, the Nabob paid him two visits, at the last of which Mr. Vansittart, without any previous notice of his intentions, gave him the three letters mentioned in Consultation of the 10th of November, 1760, of which copies have been transmitted you. The abruptness with which these letters were presented him, one close upon the other, and the unexpected proposals contained in them, terrified the Nabob, and he was entirely at a loss how to act, but desired time to consider on what was to be done. Mr. Vansittart seeing his perplexity, strongly insisted on his immediately naming some person from among his relations to take charge of the government, and very particularly recommended Cossim Ally Khan, who was sent for, and the Nabob was desired to stay till he came; but Cossim Ally Khan delayed so long, and the Nabob was in such anxiety of mind, and so desirous to be released from the visit, being greatly fatigued, that Mr. Vansittart was obliged, in order to save appearances, to suffer his departure to the palace, after having detained him much longer than was agreeable to his inclination. That night, and the day following, passed in concerting measures with Cossim Ally Khan, how to put in execution the plan before agreed on in Calcutta; a treaty having been signed for this purpose in September 1760, while Cossim Ally Khan was down here. In consequence of these deliberations, our troops clandestinely crossed the river the next night, under Colonel Caillaud, and, being joined by Cossim Ally Khan and his party, surrounded the Nabob's palace: a letter from Mr. Vansittart was sent in to the Nabob, demanding his immediate compliance with what had been proposed to him; to which the Nabob returned for answer,

“ That such usage was what he never expected from the English; that whilst a force was at his gates he would enter into no terms; and that it was his desire, our troops might be returned to Moradbaug.” A message was then sent in, informing the Nabob, that if he did not directly comply, they should be obliged to storm the palace. Astonished and terrified by this menace, he opened the gates, exclaiming, “ That he was betrayed; that the English were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he perceived their designs against his government; that he had friends enough to hazard at least one battle in his defence; but, although no oaths were sacred enough to bind the English, yet, as he had sworn to be their faithful friend, he would never swerve from his engagement, and rather suffer death than draw his sword against them.” So suspicious was he of being sold, that “ he desired to know what sum of money Cossim Ally Khan was to give for the government, and he would give half as much more to be continued. He hoped, however, if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his son-in-law, from whom he feared the worst, but rather wished they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of safety in Calcutta.” This last request of the Nabob's, the effect of his fear and despair, was immediately laid hold of, and construed in the light of a voluntary resignation. Accordingly our troops took possession of the palace, Meer Cossim Khan was raised to the throne, and the old Nabob was hurried into a boat, with some domestics and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta, in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he had so lately held, as is also the scanty subsistence allowed him here by his successor.

Thus was Jaffier Ally Khan deposed, in breach of a treaty founded upon the most solemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith; a Prince, of whose friendship and attachment you have had many signal proofs, in whose cause our arms have, with much honour, been employed, and by a firm adherence to whom, the English had acquired, throughout the whole country, so universal a character of fidelity and constancy, that the most perfect confidence was placed by the natives in them.

THE advantages to be reaped by the Company from the revolution, were, the grant of the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, the payment of the balance due from Nabob Jaffier Ally Khan, with a present of five lack of rupees from Cossim Ally Khan, towards defraying the expences of the war against the French on the coast of Coromandel. Of these Mr. Vansittart, on his
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his return to Calcutta, acquainted the Board, and at the same time, in justification of his proceedings, laid before them a memorial; copies whereof were transmitted to you by the ships of the last season.

THIS memorial is introduced with a list of crimes laid to Jaffier Ally Khan's charge, which, to those unacquainted with the eastern governments, will appear deserving of the highest resentment from a civilized nation; yet such is the state of politics in every Asiatic court, that, through the apprehensions of the sovereign, and the intrigues and artifices of the great men about him, instances of cruelty and oppression are but too frequent; and even the most beloved among them, are too much to be taxed with committing, or at least conniving at, acts of violence: but it should be considered, that many of these are done by persons in power without their knowledge; and that, as there are no regular punishments for criminals of station, and who may be so powerful, that it would be dangerous proceeding openly against them, recourse is often had to the dagger or poison to punish the guilty. This was the case in most of the instances alledged against Jaffier Ally Khan; none of which shew greater proofs of cruelty than that which Cossim Ally Khan discovered, when, being in possession of the palace, he was desirous of making the first act of his power the assassination of Jaffier Ally Khan therein, and was very much displeased, when he found we intended to give him protection at Calcutta. Since his accession, we could produce to you numberless instances of his extortions and cruelties, but that it would run us into an exorbitant length; and he seems to have made the more immediate objects of his ill usage, those who had been the most avowed friends of the English. We shall only particularize Ramnarain, whom he dispossessed of the government of Patna, in which it was always thought sound policy in us to support him, on account of his approved faith; and he now keeps him in irons till he has been fleeced to the utmost, when, there is no doubt, he will be dispatched; most, if not all those who espoused the English interest, have been laid under the heaviest contributions, and many have died under the force of the torture to exact money from them; others have been either basely murdered, or (which is a common practice amongst Gentoos) unable to survive the loss of honour, have made away with themselves.

It is insinuated in the memorial, that the Nabob's avarice and cruelty had made him the detestation of all good men, and that he was in the hands of bad ministers, under whose mal-administration the country was greatly oppressed;

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as an instance whereof, the scarcity of grain at the city is produced. To these ministers are ascribed the great difficulties the Nabob laboured under, for want of money to answer the expences of the government, and to pay the army, rendered mutinous for want of their arrears; besides which intestine danger, the provinces were threatened with an invasion by the Sha Zaddah with a powerful army; and several of the leading men under his government were on the point of revolting: to encounter all which there was nothing but a disaffected army. Mr. Vansittart appeals to every by-stander for the truth of these facts, and of the eminent peril to which the country was exposed: He declares his intentions were only to remove the bad ministers; for which purpose he carried up with him the party of Europeans and seapoys: He proceeds to set forth the manner in which the old Nabob was removed from the government, and Cossim Ally Khan raised. He says, people in general were pleased with the revolution, and makes a merit of its being effected without the least disturbance in the city, or a drop of blood spilt: He concludes, with representing the anxiety the Nabob expressed to get from the city, through fear of Cossim Ally Khan; and observes, that he appeared pretty easy and reconciled to the loss of his power, which he owned to be rather a burthen than a pleasure, and too much for his abilities to manage, since the death of his son; and that the enjoyment of the rest of his days in security, under the English protection, seemed to be the chief object of his wishes.

It is very natural for any person, who takes an uncommon step, to endeavour to vindicate himself by the most specious arguments, and the most plausible reasoning he can devise, and nothing less could be expected from Mr. Vansittart, after having brought about so unprecedented a revolution. He has told his story with all the aggravations the nature of it would admit; notwithstanding which, we do not imagine the reasons he has given in support of so violent a measure, will prove satisfactory to the world. He takes great pains to blacken Meer Jaffier's character, in order to prejudice men's minds against him, and lays great stress upon the scarcity of grain in the city; but we apprehend Mr. Vansittart does not judge so harshly from that circumstance, after what he has himself experienced last year; for, notwithstanding all the care we are not to doubt he has taken, grain was never known so scarce in Calcutta before, inasmuch that numbers daily perished.

WANT of money was the great difficulty the Nabob laboured under; but this did not proceed from any fault of his, but from the distracted state in which the country had been ever since Colonel Clive's departure, so that a very small part of the revenues came into his treasury; the Burdwan and Nuddea countries were assigned over to the Company for the payment of the Nabob's debt; Midnapoor, the frontier to the south-west, was over-run by the Mharattas; Beerboon, and other districts, with the province of Purhunea, under Kuddum Hussien Chan, were affected towards the Shah Zaddah, who had under contribution the whole province of Bahar, except the city of Patna, and a small district around it; Chittagong, the eastern barrier, did little more than defend itself against the incursions of the Muggs, inhabitants of Arracan, who used every year to come into Bengal for plunder. There remained only the Dacca province; the districts round Morshedabad; the Radshy and Dinagepoor countries, to supply the immense expence of the war; and here lay the Nabob's distress, that with one fourth part, if so much, of the accustomed revenues, he was obliged to maintain an army greater than any Nabob did before him; and the English army was not the least considerable part of the burthen; for, trusting most to them, he paid them first, which preference was the cause of discontent to the country troops: and though the force we had in the field against an enemy whom Colonel Clive had but a very short time before drove out of the country, far exceeded those the Colonel had with him, yet no material advantage was gained over them, but the country was over-run, and ravaged by them; and, by frequent marches and countermarches, our own armies became as destructive as those of the invaders. No wonder then at the perilous condition to which Meer Jaffier was reduced; to extricate him from which it behoved us to exert our utmost abilities; instead whereof he was treated with the greatest indignity by us, and basely turned out of his government.

To remove bad counsellors from a Prince is certainly meritorious; but it does not seem to us that any thing was ever designed against the Nabob's ministers: on the contrary, that the sole intention was to displace the Nabob himself, is pretty evident, by the treaty before mentioned, made in Calcutta. Had there been the least attempt to convince him in a friendly manner of any errors in his administration, or of the necessity of dismissing from his presence those who ill-advised him, it is not to be doubted he would have hearkened to reason. That he was not obstinate against good advice, may be
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concluded from the extraordinary influence which Colonel Clive had over him; in proof whereof we need only call to mind how violently he was incensed again^t Rajah Ramnarain, and Roydullub; yet the Colonel, by gentle methods, without having recourse to any other force than that of persuasion, perfectly reconciled him to the former, and obtained his permission for the latter to reside at Calcutta, and bring thither with him his family and effects.

THE people, in general, very far from being pleased with the revolution (as alledged in the memorial) were extremely dissatisfied thereat. Had Cossim Ally Khan been before in esteem among them, or possessed any share of influence or power, they might perhaps have overlooked the circumstance of his rise, and a series of popular actions might in time have reconciled them to the usurpation; but he was despised and disliked before he came to the Musnud, (throne) and his behaviour since, has been so oppressive and tyrannical, that it could not fail confirming the public hatred of him.

THE little disturbance at Morshedabad upon the occasion proceeded from the apprehensions all degrees of people were under from so large a force being brought into the city in the dead of night; and Jaffier, no way suspicious of the faith of the English, had taken no precautions for his own security: such is the superiority of our arms, and so great the dread of our forces in this country, that had we gone openly to work, we should have met with little or no difficulty, which renders our having proceeded by stealth and treachery, the more inexcusable; and we are truly sorry to have occasion to observe, that the means by which this measure was brought about, have thrown an indelible stain upon our national character, and injured us as much in the opinion of the natives, as it has of all the European colonies in this part of the world.

It is asserted in the memorial, that Jaffier was easy under the loss of his power, which he is said to have owned to have been rather a burthen to him; but it is evident, on the contrary, from his declarations since, and his letters to the Company and Colonel Clive, that he was very unwilling to part with his government, and that he greatly regrets the deprivation of it. He was necessitated indeed to submit; and, in hopes of being redressed some time or other by the Company, judging that such a step could never be approved of at home, he very wisely chose, rather than trust himself with his son-in-law, to wait patiently for that redress in safety at Calcutta: so far he might ap-

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pear resigned to his fate; yet this can never be construed as an abdication of his government, though it has been industriously endeavoured to make the world look upon it in that light.

WE have now laid before you a true account of the revolution. The projectors, perhaps, thought the advantages it was to bring the Company would be a sufficient atonement for the measure, and insure them the approbation of their masters. It is true, the Company have a considerable addition of territory, and do now receive a large yearly revenue; but as great, if not greater, advantages might have been procured by more honourable means; and the present tranquil state of the country, which secures to the Company, as well as the Nabob, the full enjoyment of their revenues, is not the effect of Meer Cossim Khan's nabobship, but of an event which would equally have happened had Jaffier Ally Khan been continued, as can be easily made to appear.

SOON after Cossim Ally Khan was fixed in the nabobship, the Company were nominally invested with the revenues of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, and only nominally, for our first demands upon the two former of these, for payment, were refused.

So bad an impression of us did the revolution create in the minds of the country people, that the Burdwan Rajah, who, in Jaffier Ally Khan's time, had often expressed his earnest desire that the Company might continue to collect the revenues of his district, as they had all along done on account of the tunkaws (assignments), and that they would procure the grant of the revenues for themselves from the Nabob; yet after the breach of our faith to the old Nabob, concluding no reliance was to be placed on our engagements, he immediately flew off from his former declarations, and, instead of acquiescing under our government, he began to act in open rebellion; he stopped our trade, raised a large force, invited the Mharattas into his country, withheld the payment of his revenues, and, acting in conjunction with the Beerbon Rajah, he espoused the cause of the Shah Zaddah, with whom he entered into correspondence.

SEVERAL other great men, who had remained quiet whilst Jaffier Ally Khan was Nabob, now finding the government overset, thought themselves at liberty to withdraw their allegiance, and would not acknowledge Meer Cossim, but joined the Shah Zaddah; whose party by these frequent defections was strengthened with supplies, both of troops and money, and whose followers

were greatly encouraged by his having been able to maintain his ground, and continue in our dominions, the whole preceding campaign, in defiance of the English army.

THE Nabob's troops were rendered quite mutinous by the news of the revolution; they declared they knew nothing of Cossim Ally Khan, and that, now they had lost their old master, they were without hopes of being paid any part of the immense arrears due to them; and nothing less than the extraordinary assiduity and influence of Mr. Amyatt, who was then Chief at Patna, could have prevented them from proceeding to extremities.

IN this situation were things when Colonel Caillaud left Patna, and Major Carnac received the command of the army from him: the Major saw it was impossible for the country to support itself against such a combination of difficulties, and that, if a decisive blow was not soon struck, the Prince could not fail to have immediate possession of all: he therefore determined to bring the Prince to an action as speedily as possible; and, after securing Patna by a garrison, to prevent its being plundered by that rabble of troops whose duty it was to defend it, he pushed on with the English army as fast as he could toward the Prince. He came up with him three days march from the city, the consequence of which brought on an action, wherein he gained a complete victory, and reduced the Prince, in a few days after, to the necessity of putting himself under the protection of the English. The Major's success, as it put an end to the hopes of all the rebellious, so it at once quelled all commotions, and established the so long wished for tranquillity in the country; and the different provinces were now brought into order, and rendered in a condition to pay their respective revenues; the Nabob's treasury was enriched, and he was enabled to discharge the arrears of his army, and to advance the money he had engaged to pay the Company.

WHATEVER merit there is then in the present tranquillity, is to be ascribed to our success against the Prince, which, by putting an end to the war in the country, reduced it to a state of perfect obedience; and, as all the old Nabob's difficulties proceeded from his dominions being the seat of war, and the default of his revenues on that account, there is not the least doubt, had our arms met with the same success during his government, but that he would have extricated himself with equal ease.

AFTER what has been set forth, we believe few will imagine that Jaffier was deposed by reason either of a want of ability to rule, or of his bad principles.

ciples. We would willingly indeed suppose, that it proceeded rather from the want of a true knowledge of the country policy, and from an error of judgment, than from lucrative views, had not Mr. Vansittart, and others, made no secret that there was a present promised them by Cossim Ally Khan, of twenty lack: it is true, they make a merit that this was not to be delivered till the Company's debt was paid, and his army satisfied. We have to observe on this occasion, that several of us have had offers from Cossim Ally Khan of very considerable sums, to join in his measures, which we have constantly made public, as well as refused; and if we, who have always opposed those measures, have been thus tried with pecuniary temptations, what may be concluded of those gentlemen, who have supported him on every occasion?

If the present Nabob has purchased the power he is invested with, it is to be expected he will of course make the most of it, by extorting money from his subjects, and oppressing every province as much as he can; and, as the fate of Jaffier Ally Khan must have convinced him how little we regard the most sacred engagements, he will of necessity endeavour to establish himself on a foundation less precarious than the friendship of the English. That he already begins to do so, is evident, from his still increasing the number of his troops (notwithstanding the present tranquillity) and, to render them the more formidable, he is arming and disciplining as many seapoys as he can procure, in the European manner; and to secure himself as much as possible from us, esteeming his capital, Morshedabad (the scene of his predecessor's fall) too near our settlements, he is about erecting a large fort at Rajahmaul, which he proposes to make his place of residence, where he hopes to be out of our reach.

WHEN any member of the Board suggests that the Nabob's behaviour argues a suspicion of us, for that if he really confided in, and sincerely regarded us, he would not put himself to the unnecessary expence of keeping so large an army in pay, nor treat so ill those who are avowedly our friends; it is replied, "The Nabob is master of his country, and, being independent of us, is at liberty to rule and act as he pleases." But surely Cossim Ally Khan cannot be more so than his predecessor was; and if it be true that the Nabob of Bengal is independent of the English, and master of his own actions, how can the gentlemen justify their proceedings against Jaffier, whom they called to so severe an account for the administration of his own government,

as to depose him, though he had not been guilty of any offence to our nation, nor ever deviated from his treaty?

INSTEAD of checking the overgrowing power of the present Nabob, it is daily promoted; and he has even the absolute command of our army at Patna; the Chief there having directions to let him have what number of our troops he pleases to demand, without being allowed to judge of the nature of the service for which they are demanded. This you will observe, in the instructions given to Mr. Ellis, dated the 22d September last, and in the consultation of the same day, where some of our opinions on that procedure are entered.—We cannot help expressing how much we fear, that an ill use will be made, by him, of this power over our forces, and that they will, sooner or later, be employed for such purposes, as will render us more odious to the whole country, bring greater discredit upon our arms, and reflect farther dishonour upon our nation.

NOTWITHSTANDING this zealous attachment to Cossim Ally Khan, there can be no reason to hope he will act the part of a faithful ally towards us: what dependence can be had on a person who so readily entered into the scheme of deposing, not only his lawful master, but his patron, under whose immediate care he was brought up; who shewed so much disloyalty to his natural sovereign, the King of Indostan (Shah Zaddah, heir to the Mogul empire) as to evade even acknowledging him, till he was in a manner obliged to it by our repeated desires; and who betrays a continual distrust of those who have appeared any way attached to us?

THE Nabob's undutiful behaviour to the King, proceeded in great measure from his jealousy of the regard we professed for him, and his fears that we should reduce his authority, by subjecting the soubahship to its primitive dependency on the Mogul, and obliging him to pay the royal revenues: he therefore set every engine to work to create a rupture between us; he endeavoured to make the King uneasy, and to instil notions into him, of his being in danger from us, in order to get him out of the country; he excited a mutiny in the King's camp, which, had it not been for the timely assistance sent by Major Carnac, might have proved fatal to his Majesty; he repeatedly urged Mr. Vansittart to dismiss him, and forged letters to himself and the President, as from the King, complaining of being forcibly detained by the Major, and expressing his anxiety in not being allowed to leave the country: that these letters were forged, his Majesty hath solemnly declared by an attestation

testation under his own hand, and testified his abhorrence of so infamous a proceeding. The Nabob, however, at last so far prevailed, by corruption, and intriguing with some of the courtiers, as to bring about what he had so much at heart; the King's being sent away without receiving any assistance from us, or being paid any part of the revenues of this foubahship. This rebellious behaviour of the Nabob justly incensed the King, who declared that he would not suffer him to continue in his foubahship, whenever he had power sufficient to prevent it.

HIS Majesty, before his departure, gave the most unquestionable proof of his hatred to Cossim Ally Khan, and of his esteem for the English, by the voluntary offer he made them of the dewanne of Bengal. This post is the collection of the revenues of all the provinces subject to the Nabob, which are to be accounted for with the court of Dehli. It differs from the foubahdarree; the latter being the command of the troops, and the charge of the jurisdiction in the provinces; the expences whereof are paid out of the revenues by the Dewan. It was formerly a separate office, but the Nabobs of Bengal, taking advantage of the late commotions in the empire, have assumed it to themselves: from the nature of the office it is evident, that the King, distrusting the Nabob, intended that we should be a check upon him, and be answerable for the revenues, no account of which he could get from Cossim Ally Khan, who detained them for his own use. This appointment would have brought the Company about fifteen lacks yearly, exclusive of the lands of Burdwan, Midnapoor, and Chittagong, which his Majesty also offered to confirm to them, and to establish their interest and influence, not only in these provinces, but as far as the city of Dehli itself; to which place our commerce might then, with the utmost safety, have been extended.

It is hard to conceive, why so honourable and advantageous an offer should be rejected: it is alledged, it would be the source of continual disputes between us and the Nabob, and occasion too great a diminution of his power; but surely this consideration, admitting it to be true, ought not to stand in competition with the honour and interests of the Company, which would be greatly promoted by such an appointment: what renders this refusal the more extraordinary is, that it is well known, application was made to the King, soon after Mr. Vansittart's arrival, in Jaffier Ally Khan's time, for grants of the province of Bengal, which were actually drawn out to be sent to us; but the revolution, in favour of Cossim Ally Khan, taking place in the interim, an entire stop was put to the negotiation.

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THE Nabob was so inveterate against all those natives, who were known to be in our interest, that he used his utmost endeavours to prevail on Colonel Coote and Major Carnac to consent to his proceeding to the most unjustifiable severities against them, particularly against Rajah Ramnarain; having offered the Colonel five lack of rupees, provided he would concur in the destruction of that unhappy man, who has since been given up to him by the Board; the Colonel's refusal of this money, we are well convinced, was the motive of his (the Nabob's) unjust suspicion or resentment against him, which appears not only by the Colonel's letters, on the face of the proceedings of the Board, but also by Cossim Ally Khan's own declaration to him, that he could not be his friend unless he received his present.

THE same spirit of resentment which actuated the Nabob against Colonel Coote, was equally strong against Major Carnac, whom he also endeavoured to buy over, to serve his ends, but in vain. The Nabob saw, with a jealous eye, the many distinguishing marks of favour the King conferred on him, and would fain have made a breach between them; which not being able to effect, he wrote several letters of complaint against him to the President, who, from prejudice, was too much inclined to believe them, and sought all opportunities of blaming his conduct at the Board, and of putting the worst construction upon all his endeavours for the public service, of which many instances could be produced.

A FLAGRANT injustice was done Major Carnac, in calling him away from Patna, when the detachment still left there was large enough to render it a command adequate to his rank, and where he might have been of service; whereas his presence was unnecessary at Calcutta.

A VERY signal insult, offered by Cossim Ally Khan to the English nation, was the intercepting, by his order, a letter which Major Carnac, when commanding the army, had wrote to the King, which the Nabob opened, and sent to the President. This letter, with others from the Nabob, was minuted in consultation of the 5th August, and it was insinuated to contain proof of a plot concerted between the Colonel, Major, Ramnarain, and others, to create a fresh revolution. Much pains were taken to find out mysterious meanings in the letter, and hints were thrown out to prepossess the Board, that such a combination was actually on foot; however, after the closest scrutiny into the letter, and the strictest examination, the Board gave it unanimously as their opinion, that there were not the least grounds to suppose
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any such combination; the ridicule whereof was so conspicuous, that we do not imagine even those, who so seriously promoted the inquiry, could ever have believed it.

THE material part of this letter related to an application which the Major (by Colonel Coote's directions) made to the King, to be put in possession of some fort in Sujah Dowla's country, upon the Ganges; which, had our troops attended his Majesty, as we must have marched through Sujah Dowla's territories, would have been absolutely necessary for a place of arms, and to keep up our communication: the stopping such a letter, or indeed any one, from a person in so public a character as the Major then was, might be of the most fatal consequence, was also a public affront, and one that never was before offered by any Nabob; yet no satisfaction has ever been obtained from him, although wrote to, so publicly on that head.

You will now be able to compare the present with the preceding government. So momentous a step, as subverting the former one, we conceive, ought not to have been undertaken till after the most mature deliberation, and from a thorough knowledge of the country, its connections, and interests; but this was far from being the case; Mr. Vansittart had only been three months in Bengal, and in so short a space of time can hardly be supposed to have acquired so perfect a knowledge of matters as to be able to determine, that it was absolutely necessary to annul a treaty, which had been ratified in the most solemn manner by Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive, together with a regularly-authorized Select Committee, guaranteed by the credit of the Company, and the honour of the nation.

THE gentlemen who were the promoters of this revolution, have coincided remarkably in each other's opinion during the last year's consultations; in return, the President has not failed to shew them partiality, of which we will give you a remarkable instance:—Notwithstanding, in your letter to this Presidency, dated 21st January 1761, you were pleased, in the most positive terms, to order the dismissal of Messrs. Sumner, Playdell, and Mac Gwire, yet on the 10th August, when, in consequence of Mac Gwire's dismissal, Mr. Ellis was appointed chief at Patna, Mr. Vansittart proposed in council, that Mr. Mac Gwire should remain in the chiefship till Mr. Ellis's arrival, which could not be effected in less than two months; the question was absolutely put to the Board, but carried in the negative, the other gentlemen not chusing to be guilty of so glaring a deviation from their masters orders; and

and at Mr. Vansittart's desire, this proposal of his own was not entered on the race of that consultation. Here it will be necessary also to observe, that Mr. Holwell, after the honourable Company had shown him so plain a mark of their displeasure, as to remove him from the Chair, to seventh in Council, at first wavered whether to continue in the service or not, 'till (as he declared) he had a private conference with Mr. Vansittart, after which he remained in both Council and Select Committee, 'till the very day on which Mr. Vansittart took leave of the Board to proceed to Moorshedabad, in order to execute the plan which had been formed, and then Mr. Holwell resigned.

THE Armenian ministers of the revolution, Cojah Petrusse, and Cojah Gregory, are in the highest degree of favour with the Nabob and his adherents; the former resides in Calcutta, retained by Cossim Ally Khan, a known spy upon every transaction of the English, of which he never fails to give his master the most regular intelligence, as was too apparent to both Colonel Coote and Major Carnac, when they were at Patna. The latter of these Armenians has posts of the greatest trust near the Nabob's person; and through the means of these men, the Armenians in general are setting up an independent footing in the country, are carrying on a trade greatly detrimental to our investments in all parts, and commit daily acts of violence, which reflect no small odium on the English, who are supposed to encourage their proceedings.

It is this system of administration which we have constantly opposed, as thinking your affairs could not possibly prosper under it; and you will now be able to account for the many differences at the Board, which will appear through the course of our consultations, and which will doubtless surprise you, till the real cause is known. As we have hitherto denied our assents to measures, because we deemed them contrary to your interest, though the adopting them would have turned out greatly to our private emoluments, so you may rest assured it shall ever continue an invariable maxim with us, to make your honour and advantage the sole object of our attention.

You have been acquainted, Honourable Sirs, that the King has applied for our assistance to settle him on the throne, and to recover such parts of his territories as are still in the hands of rebels. It is our opinion that we have troops enough to form an army for the enterprize; and as we have no European enemy to face, the forces requisite for this service can, without danger, be spared. The Nabob's large army, which is now a burthen upon the

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provinces, and only kept up to screen him from the King's power, and through his jealousy of us, would afford a considerable addition, and at the same time ease the country of an immense expence. Shujah Dowlah, one of the most powerful men of the empire, would join with his forces, besides many other considerable powers, friends to the King, from different parts, would flock to the royal standard, should we ever take the field; and our army, most probably (as the King himself has frequently declared) would march to the gates of Delhi without opposition. We most humbly submit to you, whether so glorious an opportunity of aggrandizing the Company in Hindostan, should not be embraced; and leave it to yourselves to judge the reputation and advantages which would result to them, if, through the means of the British arms, his Majesty should be established on his throne: for want of our aid he is now actually at a stand, and unable to prosecute his journey to his capital.

BUT should you be unwilling to extend your connections further up the country, and, instead of accepting the dewanny of Bengal, chuse to confine your views to your new acquisitions, and to the trade of Bengal alone, we beg leave to offer it as our opinion, that we ought to maintain an interest in the country independent of the Nabob, by supporting in power such men as have proved themselves our friends; this will serve as a balance against him, should he entertain ill designs against us.

WE have now given you a fair relation of things; and, conscious of the goodness of our intentions, we cannot but flatter ourselves we shall meet with your approbation in the part we have taken; we shall therefore conclude with the assurance, that our endeavours shall never be wanting to promote the honour and interests of our employers, their success being the object of our most fervent wishes.

Signed by Messrs. COOTE, AMYATT, CARNAC, ELLIS, BATSON,
and VERELST.

Opposed to these sentiments are,

Colonel

Colonel Caillaud's Reasons for approving of the Revolution in Favour of Cossim, and his Account of the Terms of it.

COLONEL CAILLAUD being asked, What were his reasons for approving a revolution in September 1760, which he seemed to disapprove so strongly by the letter he had read, dated May? he said, He would, to the best of his recollection, declare those motives, by stating some particulars of his situation at that time in the country. The ascendancy which Lord Clive had over the Nabob, (which flowed from the Nabob, from a sense of the favours he had received from Lord Clive) was, very soon after he came to the command, at an end: That the witness's constant, unwearied attention to keep up that confidence, so necessary between them and the Nabob, was prevented by some very untoward circumstances:—Mr. Holwell succeeded Lord Clive in the chair, only by virtue of his rank, in order of succession; and the certainty of another Governor being soon appointed, was known to the whole country; and of course, that degree of respect which the Nabob would have had to a Governor in other circumstances, was not paid to Mr. Holwell. Mr. Holwell soon saw this, and resented it. The Nabob's exceeding weak and irresolute character, gave plenty of occasions for Mr. Holwell to find fault, and blame his measures. That he felt them too, and observed them; but he thought that he did his duty best, as a faithful servant to the Company, by acting the part of a mediator between them, and by softening, rather than irritating, the ill disposition that subsisted between them: That on this plan he acted throughout the whole course of Mr. Holwell's administration; putting off, by delays, and sometimes with reasons, every approach to a change of system in that government, which, though in his own heart he adopted, and knew the necessity of, yet he was desirous to keep it off as long as he could, till the necessity of it might press so hard, as to make it unavoidable: That he thought of nothing but temporary systems, formed to the day and to the minute; he would not trust his own abilities and judgment so far, as to decide upon what was right or wrong; he knew something was to be done, but how to do it he really did not know: That when that letter he read was wrote, the Nabob's son was then alive; his extraordinary death made a great change in the situation of affairs in that

country : That Mr. Vansittart's arrival, and the confidence he had in his abilities and judgment, made him without reluctance adopt his plan ; he knew his motives ; they were honest and disinterested as to himself, honourable and advantageous to his employers, and such as the necessity of the times, the particular situation of Bengal, the general state of the Company's affairs throughout India, have ever, in his opinion, vindicated the measures pursued.

BEING asked, Whether twenty lack, or any other sum, was stipulated, for bringing about that revolution ?—

HE said, The night that Cossim Ally Khan signed the articles for accepting the management of the affairs of Bengal, under Jaffier Ally Khan (in the presence, as he believed, of Mr. Vansittart, Mr. Sumner, Mr. Holwell, and himself) Cossim Ally Khan, after expressing the many obligations he had for our intended good offices in his favour, tendered a paper to Mr. Vansittart, which, as Mr. Vansittart interpreted to us, contained a note for twenty lack of rupees, payable to the gentlemen then present : That he does not recollect a gentlemen present there, that did not concur with him, in desiring Mr. Vansittart to return that paper to Cossim Ally Khan, telling him, that he mistook our motives for his advancement. He pressed on Mr. Vansittart again the acceptance of the paper, telling him, that if he continued to refuse that favour, he should fear that the gentlemen present were not well pleased with the appointment. Mr. Vansittart, who knew his own motives, as well as those of the witnesses, and also of the rest of the gentlemen in the Committee, told Cossim Ally Khan, returning him the paper again, " When you have paid off all the arrears due to the " Company, to your own troops ; that the peace of this country is settled, " and that our own treasury is full ; if then you think proper to make us " any acknowledgment for the services now done you, we shall not then be " unwilling to accept such marks as you will be pleased to give us of your " friendship." The witnesses said that the affair ended there ; and he declared solemnly upon his honour, there were no stipulations made, no partition treaty, or any thing of the kind mentioned, then or after, to his knowledge, of that transaction.

COLONEL CAILLAUD added, that he was now ready and willing to declare what he received upon the occasion, when he received it, and how he received it. He said, he little expected, after thirteen years service in that

country, and nine of them in the field, that the little fortune he made should become the object of so public an enquiry; but he was happy to meet this enquiry more than half-way; and more so in this particular point, as perhaps it may give him an opportunity of doing justice to the memory of the man from whom he received it (Mr. Vansittart); who did it in his usual generous and handsome way; so that he knows not but, to this minute, the sum he received may be charged to his account.

AFTER Cossim Ally Khan was placed in the government, he went up to the army at Patna, came down again, embarked for the Coast in January 1761, remained there a year and a half, and came back to Calcutta; called there upon extraordinary business. In October 1762, Mr. Vansittart then going up to Mungier, told him, "If I am happy enough to settle with the Nabob the unfortunate differences that have subsisted between him and my Council, and that I can, with propriety, remind him of the services you jointly did him, I shall certainly endeavour to serve you." Mr. Vansittart went up to Mungier, and he embarked on board a ship for Europe. In the year 1763, he received an account current from Mr. Vansittart, in which he found credit for two lack of rupees, unsolicited, as he had mentioned before, and much beyond his expectations; and this, upon his honour, was the whole of what he received, directly or indirectly, upon that occasion.

Mr. Sumner's Account of the same Transaction.

WILLIAM BRIGHTWELL SUMNER, Esquire, being called upon by the Committee, to state his reasons for assenting, as a Select Committee-man, to the measure of deposing Meer Jaffier, and placing Cossim Ally Khan on the Musnud, said, That, without insisting on the public breach of treaty on the part of Meer Jaffier, in the instance of the Dutch invasion, and the many other doubtful parts of his conduct, the irregularities of his private life, or the cruelties with which he was charged, he would rest the reasons of his conduct on the necessity of the reformation, from the extreme difficulties and imminent dangers the affairs of the Company, as well as those of the state, were reduced to by the jealousies, indolence, and inactivity of the Nabob Meer Jaffier, and

and the mal-administration and corruption of his ministers in the collection and dissipation of the revenues, and, added to these, the intestine troubles through the whole country. The witness was of opinion, and still continued firm in the same, that it would have been impossible to have supported the system of government then established, two months longer; and that, embarked as we were with Meer Jaffier, we must inevitably have shared in his ruin. — But Mr. Sumner wished to have it understood, that when the Committee first entered into the negotiation with Meer Cossim, their only idea was reformation in the ministry, not a revolution in the government; and that it was the unexpected obstinacy of Meer Jaffier alone, not an original design in the Committee, that placed Meer Cossim on the Musnud: That he believed, it was a circumstance as little thought of by Mr. Vansittart as by himself, when he left Calcutta on his visit to the Nabob, for the purpose of these reformation; but he readily admitted the necessity of the subsequent change made by Mr. Vansittart.

MR. SUMNER further said, That he was one of the Select Committee present, when Cossim Ally Khan made the offer of twenty lack to the Governor and Council; and that he confirmed every part of General Caillaud's evidence upon that occasion, with this difference — that when the paper was returned, Mr. Vansittart observed that we were labouring for the peace and safety of the country; that the exigencies of the state were pressing; and that we could not, on any account, receive this offer; but that if, when the Company was settled, he found himself in a situation so to do, with convenience to his affairs, he would then be at full liberty to gratify his friends as he thought proper. — And Mr. Vansittart further added, "I will, for my part, under such circumstances, freely accept any token of your regard; and I should suppose the other gentlemen will do the same." That Mr. Vansittart then returned the paper to Cossim Ally Khan, who seemed uneasy, and said, he apprehended we were not so much his friends as he wished: — that Mr. Vansittart then gave him the strongest assurance of our sincerity, and took the opportunity to press a donation from him, of five lack of rupees to the Company, as a help towards the reduction of Pondicherry. This was granted, and was paid the very first money, a few weeks after the transaction.

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MR. SUMNER also observed, that the change of government in favour of Cossim Ally Khan, took place in October 1760; and said, That several months after his establishment, Coja Petrusé, the Nabob's agent in Calcutta, presented him, in the name of the Nabob, with eighty thousand Sicca rupees (£.10,000); the payments were made from May to July 1761: That he was dismissed the Company's service the 5th of August following; and from that period to his leaving Bengal, (the 20th of January 1762) he received further and in like manner, at different times, the sum of one hundred and forty-four thousand Sicca rupees (£.18,000); making together the whole amount received twenty-eight thousand pounds sterling: That the reason of separating the sums received, was in support and confirmation of the idea that he had always entertained, and wished to convey to the Committee, of it's having been a free and voluntary gift: and he begged leave again to remark, that by far the largest part of the present was received after his dismissal: That, under these circumstances, he ever considered the transaction honourable, and never made a secret of it.

WHEN the Court of Directors were possessed of the sentiments of their servants, on the subject of the revolution in favour of Cossim, they wrote the President and Council in Bengal, 13th May 1763, as follows:

AS the great increase of our revenues, arising out of the provinces granted us by Cossim Ally Khan, and the vast improvement of those revenues, are principally owing to the wise, prudent, and disinterested conduct of President Vansittart; we think it but reasonable that he, who, preferring our interest to all other considerations, should participate in those benefits he has been so instrumental in acquiring for us.

WE therefore direct, that so long as Mr. Vansittart shall continue in the government of Bengal, he be allowed a commission of two and one half per cent. on all such nett revenues as have or may arise out of the above-mentioned grants from Cossim Ally Khan; and that the payment commences with the cession of those countries.

THIS additional emolument is expressly to be understood as a distinct reward due to the personal merit of President Vansittart, and is absolutely

to cease upon his quitting the government: is not to be claimed, or any ways pretended to, by our future Governors.

Sir Eyre Coote's Account of the particular Circumstances relative to Ramnarrain; his Opinion of the Revolution; and Transactions between him and the Nabob Cossim.

AFTER the campaign was over on the coast of Coromandel, which ended, I believe, in January 1760, I then went down to Bengal.—I may say, prior to that, that I had received a letter from the Governor and Council of Madrafs, (4th December 1760) informing me of the revolution in Bengal, and that there was five lack of rupees sent from the Nabob, Cossim Ally Khan, for the payment of the troops acting in the siege of Pondicherry. At that time we were, I believe, three or four months in arrears to our Black troops, notwithstanding all the attention the Governor and Council of Madrafs paid to the supplying us with money. If that money had come in any other way than by a revolution, it would have made me much happier than it did.

IN my answer to that letter, of the 7th, I gave my opinion of that revolution, as a measure I thought would be productive of the loss of our reputation. Upon my arrival in Bengal, I found there were two different parties of the Council; the one that had formed the revolution, and the other that disapproved of it. I was intimately acquainted with the gentlemen of both those parties; and therefore, as the affair happened, however unfortunate I thought it might prove, I made it my business to endeavour to reconcile the two parties, with a resolution at that time, not to interfere in any matter of business or politics, where I thought no honour was to be gained: however, I was over-persuaded by Mr. Vansittart and the other gentlemen (as a measure which, they told me, they imagined would be of great service to the Company) to go up to the army at Patna.

THE Governor and Council had two objects in view in sending me there: one was the fixing a plan of operation, upon the supposition that we should be able to conduct the Mogul to Delhi; the other, to secure
and

and protect Ramnarrain in the provinces of Patna.—Upon my arrival at Patna, I applied, with the closest attention, to the business upon which I was sent there. I informed the Shawzadda of the sentiments of the Board towards him, and the desire the English had to assist him to the utmost of their power; which he seemed very sensible of, and very desirous of having; at the same time desiring that he might be proclaimed and acknowledged by us, as he had been by different powers in Indostan; and said, he thought it very extraordinary, that where he himself resided, there he was not acknowledged.

THESE matters I communicated to the Board, to receive their instructions. I likewise informed Ramnarrain, that I had orders from the Governor and Council to protect him, provided he would settle his accounts with the Nabob; and therefore I desired him immediately to set about it.

DURING those transactions, I received a letter from the Board, recommending it to me to proclaim the King. I found, that had I immediately complied with the request of the Board, it might prove of fatal consequence to the Nabob, and to the Company, at that time; for he had given away several of the best provinces to different people that belonged to him, particularly Purnea: I therefore thought it, to the best of my judgment, for the advantage of the Company and the Nabob, as it was the Shawzadda's inclination, to let him go to Shujah Dowla: at the same time, I had got the Nabob to consent to that measure, and to pay a visit with me to the Shawzadda: then it was thought advisable, both by the Nabob and several of the Company's servants who were present, that the Nabob for himself, and I on behalf of the English, should coin the Siccas, and acknowledge him Mogul on the day that he should pass the boundary of the province. This he seemed satisfied with, and it was agreed that Major Carnac, with part of the army, should escort him; the Major informing me, in proper time, of the day he should join Shujah Dowla, in order that I might keep my promise: the Nabob consenting entirely to all this matter:—and at the same time agreed, that if we prosecuted the expedition, and settled matters with Shujah Dowla, he would advance the ten lack towards the payment of our forces. The King was but a few days gone, when the Nabob seemed to alter his sentiments with regard to the promises

he had made, and turned his thoughts entirely towards the seizing of Ramnarrain; for which, if I would give him up, he offered me seven lack and a half of rupees, and whatever I pleased to the gentlemen of my family. This I communicated, by letter, to the Governor and Council, 7th July 1761. The Nabob finding he could not gain his point, with regard to Ramnarrain, then thought it necessary to write the Governor (Mr. Vansittart) the most scandalous invectives and false accusations against me; and was determined that he would not declare the King, the day we had both given our words of honour for doing it. He had then a large army encamped on the outside of Patna. I was then in the city, and, from the detachments which I had made, and which were sent for the collection of revenues with Major Carnac, I had not then under my command above an hundred and fifty Europeans, seventy of which were in the hospitals, and, I believe, three or four hundred seapoys. I was, with this force, to protect the city, Ramnarrain, and to defend my own honour.

THE Nabob, knowing my weakness, thought it a proper opportunity to get possession of the city. He applied to me for leave to come into the fort of the city, the day before the Shawzadda was to be proclaimed; to which I agreed, and he seemed thoroughly satisfied, provided he only brought in the attendants about his person. This he consented to.—The night or two before the Mogul was to be proclaimed, he sent me word that he would not proclaim him, nor come into the city, unless he had the gates delivered up to him; which I would by no means consent to: at the same time I informed him, that I had given my honour for declaring the Mogul on such a day, and I would have it performed in the city; which would not appear proper in the eyes of the country, as he was Subah of the province, and begged we might have a conference upon the subject; which he evaded having: and I was informed by my spies, that very night his camp was all in motion, and his artillery brought towards the city. I sent the next morning to one of his chief ministers, to learn the reason of such a movement, and the meaning of the Nabob; which, he told me, was done by Coja Gregory, who was his head general; and he was not afraid to say, at the Durbar (court), that it would be productive of mischief.—Finding the next night the same movements and disturbances in his camp, I thought

thought it necessary to go the next morning myself, and to see him, if possible. Accordingly I ordered a company of seapoys, and a troop of thirty horsemen that I had, to get themselves in readiness by six in the morning; at which hour I sent Mr. Watts to inform him of my coming. It was seven before I arrived at his tent; and Mr. Watts informed me, that the Nabob was not to be seen: he had sent to him, but had not seen him. I went into the outer tent, taking pistols in my hand for my own security, and sat down there till I should hear further.

As it is a custom in India, when they mean ill to a person that visits them in camp, to cut the tent-cords, and let the tent fall on the person they mean to destroy, I desired Captain Iser to place two of the troopers round the tent, to prevent any mischief of that kind; and finding the Nabob would not see me, I rode away, and left Mr. Watts to inform him of my business.—This the Nabob represented to the Governor and Council as a grievous insult; for which reason I received several extraordinary letters from the Board.

28th September 1761, I was ordered by the Select Committee to withdraw the protection from Ramnarrain, which I did accordingly. — He was soon after murdered, and his treasure seized.

RAMNARRAIN had been Naib, or deputy-governor of Patna, under Jaffer Ally Khan; and was continued, through the influence of the English, in his naibship under Cossim Ally Khan, the succeeding Nabob.

THE Committee of the House of Commons conceived the transactions concerning Ramnarrain to be of material consequence in their enquiry; because these transactions have been represented to the Company, by one of their principal servants, as the cause of all others which contributed the most to bring on the war with Cossim Ally Khan: and by another principal servant it is alledged, that the delivering up of that person was a necessary duty on the part of the Company, in conformity to the just rights of the Nabob Cossim Ally Khan, and the treaty subsisting between him and the Company.

Lord Clive's Account of Ramnarrain's Affair.

LORD CLIVE being requested to relate what were the engagements entered into by Ramnarrain with the Nabob, he said, There was no engagement in writing: That after his Lordship was called up to the assistance of Meer Jaffier, in the beginning of the year 1758, his Excellency desired him to write to Ramnarrain, assuring him of the English protection; for that Ramnarrain would put confidence in such a letter, but not in one from himself; and that he should, by that means, get possession of his person, and might cut off his head: That his Lordship told him, it was not the custom of the English to be guilty of such transactions: that if he was inclined to reduce him by force of arms, he was ready to assist him; but if he chose that his Lordship should make him any promises, he must fulfil them: That the Nabob preferred the latter; in consequence of which, his Lordship wrote to Ramnarrain, that if he would come into the presence, and acknowledge the Nabob, he should be kept in his government on the same footing as he had been under Serajah Dowlah: That he came accordingly; paid obedience to the Nabob, and was confirmed in his government, upon condition that he should pay the Nabob, Meer Jaffier, the same rents or tribute as he had paid to Serajah Dowlah: what that was, his Lordship could not tell; but he believed he was to have paid a certain sum, which might have been increased or decreased upon various circumstances: That when he took leave of Meer Jaffier, at his departure to England, he talked over with him the state in which he left the provinces: That he always understood that Ramnarrain remained in the government at Patna, through the English protection, much against the inclination of Meer Jaffier; and that, if his Excellency had had any complaints to have made against him, he would certainly have made them to his Lordship; but that none were made.

General Carnac's Account of the same.

GENERAL CARNAC being requested to give an account of the affair of Ramnarrain, said, That besides the offers made him by Rajabullub, who wanted to succeed him, he received many large ones from the Nabob himself, for his assistance to remove Ramnarrain, and had no doubt but that great ones were made to Colonel Coote, who was his superior : That the offer from the Nabob was no specific sum, but unlimited : That he could not recollect the terms on which Ramnarrain was to hold the Naibship of Patna, but was certain some engagements were entered into by Lord Clive, to support him in the Naibat. And being asked, What were the circumstances relative to the delivering up of Ramnarrain ? he said, He concluded that the English protection was withdrawn from him immediately on the witness's leaving Patna, being certain that he was recalled from thence, because the Council were conscious, that so long as he was there, he would not suffer that protection to be withdrawn : That Ramnarrain was put to death by Cossim Ally Khan, as well as Rajabullub his competitor, and almost every Gentoo in the province, of any rank or fortune, most of which sect were well disposed to the English, and rich. And being asked, Whether Ramnarrain owed considerable sums to Cossim Ally Khan, at the time he was delivered up ? he said, He firmly believed not.

Mr. Batson's Account of the Practices in the same Period, between the Company's Servants and the Country Powers.

BUT in order to give further lights to the House upon the practices of that period, between the Company's servants and the country powers, in matters of protection ; and also to shew the jealousies the Nabob Cossim Ally Khan entertained on that subject, and the determination he had formed to make exemplary punishments of those who should seek protection of the English ; your Committee entered into the examination of the circumstances relating to the seizing and putting to death of Harris Choudry, in the year 1762 ; and for that purpose they examined Stanlake Batson, Esquire ; who informed the Committee, That Harris Choudry had been one of the Company's dadney, or contracting merchants, at the Cossimbuzar factory, in Mr. Watts's
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chiefship; and he had likewise been employed as the Company's vackeel, or agent, at the Nabob's court, but not since the year 1756: That at the time he was seized, he was in some employment under Cossim Ally Khan: That when Mr. Vansittart made Cossim Nabob, he permitted Mr. Mott, an Englishman, to reside at Muxadabad as a banker: That Harris Choudry complained to the witness, that Mr. Mott was about to seize a house, or piece of land, at Muxadabad, which belonged to him, and convinced him that Mr. Mott was going to do a piece of injustice, and obtained of him some seapoys for the protection of his property: That Mr. Mott, presuming on the influence he had over the Nabob, by Mr. Vansittart's means, did not desist from seizing the house, but applied to the Governor of Muxadabad for seapoys, and a fray happened between the two parties, in which he believes some were wounded; in consequence of which Harris Choudry was seized, and after some confinement, blown away from the mouth of a cannon. The witness believed Mr. Vansittart did not use his influence with the Nabob to save him, deeming his execution a just reward for his rebellion, as he declared at the Board, upon the witness speaking in his favour. The witness could not say whether it was understood by the Nabob, that he was under the Company's protection by having their seapoys; but said that he granted him seapoys, as having been in the Company's service as vackeel of the factory. The witness further said, He believed Harris Choudry was put to death merely on account of the contest with Mr. Mott; and did not know of any application of the Governor and Council to save him. He believed Harris Choudry had no opportunity of making such application himself, being close prisoner.

THE Committee, in the next place, examined into the causes of the war between Cossim Ally Khan and the Company; and Stanlake Batson, Esquire, being desired to give an account of the effects of promulgating the Mongheer treaty, said, That on the same being made public, the Nabob Cossim Ally Khan sent orders to all his Zeminders and officers to prevent the English from trading in salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco: That by one letter, which fell into the hands of the English, it appeared that the Nabob had ordered the man to whom it was addressed, to stop the English in their trade, all but his friends Messieurs Vansittart and Hallings: That the said letter ought to be upon the consultations; and he was sure that the words, "all but my friends Vansittart and Hallings;" or to that purpose, were in the letter read

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at the Board, and that the other was to stop the trade: That, in his opinion, the breach with Cossim Ally Khan arose from his desire and intention of making himself totally independent of the English, and not from any inordinate desire of the English to carry on the trade of the country without paying him his duties: That he never heard that the gentlemen, engaged in the salt, beetle-nut, and tobacco trade, refused paying the old established duties; but that the English in general traded duty free: That, to the best of his knowledge, the English traded, prior to the year 1756, in all articles except salt, beetle-nut, tobacco, salt-petre, and Chutta silk, which were all farmed out: That salt is an import at Bengal, being made at Massulapatan and in Persia: That the English began to trade in salt about the end of 1757, soon after which it became general: That Cossim Ally Khan threatened to lay open the trade of Bengal duty free, but he believed never did: That if the order had been put in execution, all nations would have been on the same footing as the English: That the English refusing to pay the Nabob's duties, was alledged as one cause of the breach between them; but the witness believed it was not really so, being only a pretence.

General Carnac's Account of the Causes of the Difference between Cossim Ally Khan and the English.

GENERAL CARNAC being examined as to the causes of the difference between Cossim Ally Khan and the English, said, That, in his opinion, Cossim Ally Khan was determined, from the beginning, to set himself out of the reach of the English power as expeditiously as possible; and that it was natural he should do so, having no security for the English faith being better kept with him than his predecessor Meer Jaffer, who had been established by the unanimous approbation of the whole settlement; whereas this revolution was effected by a few members of the then administration, who availed themselves of an occasional majority; and every act of Cossim Ally Khan's shewed his disposition: he expressed his resentment on all occasions against such persons of the country as had any intercourse with the English, so that none of the officers of the government dared visit the English in the familiar manner which had been usual for two or three years past: he removed the seat of the government from Muxalabad, which had been the metropolis of his predecessors

decessors for several years past, and intended to have established it at Rajaul ; but at this time chiefly resided at Mongheer, which was still considerably further from the English settlement : in all parts of the country, of Mongheer and Dacca particularly, they were busily employed in making arms for him ; he dismissed most of the troops that had been in the employ of his predecessor, from a suspicion of their having an attachment to the English, and got a new set of Mogul officers in his service, who brought new troops with them : he raised and disciplined a considerable number of seapoys, and collected as large an army as he could, at a great expence, unnecessarily, as by the treaty with the English they were to lend him assistance in case his affairs required it : he endeavoured to cut off the communication between the factory of Patna and the city, by shutting up a gate contiguous to the factory, and fenced the part of the city towards the river with a wall, to the great inconvenience of the Company's boats ; and this could only have been done with hostile intentions, as the vicinity of the factory, and the English troops therein, were the best defence he could have on that side ; and that the principal advisers of Cossim Ally Khan in these measures were the Armenians, who seemed to wish to have the English extirpated from the country, that the principal share of the commerce might be carried on through them : that one Coja Gregory was at the head of his army, and he had several Armenians in the command of his seapoy battalions.

THE witness did not think there was any violation of treaties on the part of the English ; he said, There might have been, and probably there were, some abuses in the article of trade ; and that those in the English administration, who were the friends of Cossim Ally Khan, took great pains to have it represented, that what was called inland trade was the source of our disagreement with him, and were very industrious in proving that trade illegal.

BEING asked, Whether the complaints alledged by Cossim Ally Khan against Mr. Ellis, in particular, were well founded, he said, He did not believe they were ; but that the Nabob had been industriously taught to believe, that every gentleman who did not approve of the revolution was hostile to him, and from thence he had been guilty of several instances of disrespect to them, and refused a visit from Mr. Ellis, an indignity that had never before been offered to the chief of a factory : That this, with other circumstances,

circumstances, might excite, perhaps, too strong a degree of resentment in that gentleman.

AND in regard to the military transactions of that period, on the first of January 1761, he took the command of the army, which lay encamped close to Patna, the capital of the province of Bahar, then in a most distracted state. The Shahzadah, who had in his service Monsieur Law, with the shattered remains of his countrymen from Chandernagore, was in Conger Khan's country, not more than fifty miles from Patna, whither the disaffected Rajahs flocked to his standard, and every Zemindar made a pretext of the troubles to evade payment of his stipulated revenue; moreover, the Hindostan troops, who composed part of the army, were grown outrageous from the changes of the government, as they despaired recovering the immense arrears of pay due to them by the deposed Nabob, their late master. The protection offered by the English to the Shahzadah occasioned much discontent and jealousy to the Nabob Cossim Ally Khan; nor was the Prince easy on his part, having been exceedingly alarmed by an insurrection in his camp, the 23d of April, in which he would most probably have been cut off, but for the timely interposition of the witness. The Shahzadah suspected this insurrection to have been set on foot by Cossim Ally Khan: The Prince, finding that neither the Presidency nor the Nabob were in a condition to favour him to the extent of his wishes, he was solicitous to leave the English army.

THAT in the interim Colonel Coote arrived at the army, soon after which the Shahzadah began his march from Patna: That he was conducted by the witness to the Carumnassa (the river that separates the province of Bahar from Shujah Dowla's country): That he crossed the river the 21st of June, and was met the same day a few miles off by Shujah Dowla. The witness proceeded to say, that all possibility of accommodation, after the continual series of disputes which had subsisted between the English and Cossim Ally Khan, being cut off by the inhuman murder of Mr. Amyatt, and the gentlemen of his family, and his attendants, as they were returning under the faith of a safeconduct to Calcutta, a war was declared against him the beginning of July 1763; the restoration of Meer Jaffier was resolved on, and he was proclaimed accordingly.

The witness further said, That Colonel Coote being departed for Europe, the chief command devolved upon Major Adams, of his Majesty's 84th
D d. regiment.

regiment : That he the witness was ordered upon a separate command, for the security of the province of Burdwan ; but as the main army of Cossim Ally Khan was moving downwards, it was afterwards judged necessary that the detachment under his command should join the Major, who had made his way through every opposition to the capital, and possessed himself of it by storm : That he effected that junction with the utmost difficulty, on account of the floods, and arrived in time to have a share in the battle of Geriah, the 2d of August : That, by the end of the year, after a campaign commenced and prosecuted under the inconceivable hardships and difficulties which attend being in the field during the violence of the wet season in Bengal, Cossim Ally Khan was driven out of the provinces, and signalized his flight by the unparalleled and barbarous massacre, in cold blood, of every English gentleman, as well civil as military, (Mr. Fullerton only excepted) and of a number of other persons, amounting in the whole to near three hundred, who had the misfortune, through mischances of war, to be his prisoners.

Major Grant's Account of the War with Cossim, of his Forces, and of his being driven out of his Dominions.

MAJOR WILLIAM GRANT informed the Committee, that he was in India in the year 1763, in the several stations of Lieutenant in the army, Secretary and Aid de Camp to Major Adams, and Field Engineer. Major Adams was the the eldest Major in his Majesty's 84th regiment, and Commander in Chief of the troops in Bengal ; which troops, when the Major took the field against Cossim Ally Khan, amounted to six hundred Europeans, and nine companies of Seapoys, each company consisting of an hundred men ; and a detachment of the Company's troops, consisting of an hundred Europeans and a battalion of Seapoys, were at that time at Midnapore, who were ordered to join him, and actually did so, after the storming the lines of Muxadabad : That, exclusive of the army above-mentioned, there was a detachment of fifty Europeans, the Black Cavalry, and three companies of Seapoys, with two guns, ordered on as an advanced guard of the army, on the 25th of June, to Ambore, and intended for the protection of the Burdwan province.

province. This detachment was with very great difficulty equipped, there being a great want of bullocks for drawing the artillery and carrying the tents; likewise of boats, cooleys, and almost every other necessary. Of the number of about six hundred and fifty Europeans, as above stated, about four hundred and twenty might be King's troops, and the rest were the troops of the Company.

ON the 26th of June the army marched, in order to join the advanced detachment at Ambore; where they arrived the 10th of July. On the 4th, it had been determined by the Board, to proclaim Meer Jaffier Nabob, having the preceding day received some alarm of Mr. Amyatt and the Cossimbuzar factory, though no certain intelligence had been procured, the letter-carriers having been driven from their respective stations, by order of Cossim Ally Khan. On the 10th, they received intelligence of the total defeat of the troops at Patna, and a confirmation of the massacre of Mr. Amyatt at Cossimbuzar. On the 11th, the Nabob Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, after having concluded the treaty with the Governor and Council, left Calcutta to join the army; the witnesses attended him as his escort. On the 17th, they joined the army, then advanced to Agurdeep. On the 19th, they came to a general engagement with the enemy, under the command of Mahomed Tucky Khan, at Bullopara, when they gained a complete victory; in consequence of which the enemy abandoned Cutwall, a fort on the conflux of the rivers Cossimbuzar and Agar. — On the 23d, the army advanced to Chunna Colly; and on the 24th, in the morning, stormed the enemy's investments at Mootejil, by which they got possession of Muxadabad, with about fifty pieces of cannon. The 27th or 28th, the army crossed the Cossimbuzar river, and was joined by the detachment before-mentioned from Midnapore. On the 2d of August, after crossing a nulla or ravin, in the face of the enemy, they came to a general engagement with the whole of their troops, in a plain called Geriah: That the enemy had collected their whole force, consisting of ten or twelve battalions of Scapoys, regularly disciplined, and, by report, of fifteen thousand horse, with seventeen pieces of cannon, mounted in the English manner, being many of them taken from their army and factory at Patna, and worked by an hundred and seventy Europeans: after an obstinate dispute of four hours, (in which the enemy broke a part of the English troops,

had taken possession of two pieces of their cannon, and attacked his Majesty's 84th regiment in front and rear) they gained a complete victory; the enemy having abandoned all their cannon, together with an hundred and fifty boats, laden with grain and other stores: That on the 11th, the army advanced to Outahnulla, a fort which the enemy had fortified, being situate between the chain of hills and the river; from the former to the latter they had thrown up an intrenchment, on which they had mounted about an hundred pieces of cannon; the entrenchment was full of water, deep, and about fifty or sixty feet broad; the ground in front was swampy, and no possibility of an approach, but on the bank of the river, where the ground was dry for about the breadth of an hundred yards: there they thought it necessary to make a shew of a regular attack, in order to draw off the enemy's attention from the banks next the hill; but as they were daily harrassed by numerous bodies of their cavalry, both in front and rear, they were under the necessity of extending their encampment. After having amused the enemy with their approaches and batteries on the bank of the river, where they made false attacks, on the 5th of September they made the real one, on the foot of the hill; in which, after an obstinate resistance, they succeeded, and got possession of the whole of their cannon, having made a very great slaughter of the enemy, and taken about one thousand of their cavalry prisoners. It was reported, that Cossim had sixty thousand people in arms in that entrenchment; and the whole English army did not amount to more than three thousand firelocks. That about the end of September, they advanced to the neighbourhood of Mongheer, which they were obliged to attack regularly; and in the beginning of October, after having made a practicable breach, the garrison, consisting of two thousand Seapoys, capitulated. That place Cossim had made his capital, and had strengthened as much as his time and circumstances would admit. There they received accounts of the massacre of the English gentlemen and soldiers who were prisoners of war, amounting all together to about two hundred, at Patna and other places.

AND the witness observed, That at Chabaud, when on march to Mongheer, Major Adams received a letter from Cossim Ally Khan, signifying his resolution, in case the army should advance further, to cut off the English gentlemen in his possession. At that time Messieurs Adams,

Batfon, and Carnac, wrote to Messieurs *Ellis* and *Hay*, recommending to them to endeavour to purchase their liberty of the guard who were over them, at any price; to which they returned for answer, That they ought not to be attentive to them; for they must submit to their fate: and desired, that no consideration of them should prevent the army from proceeding.

THE witnesses further observed, That it was while the army lay at Chabaud, that they were informed that Ramnarrain and Rajah Bullub were sent out in a boat from Mongheer, before Cossim had left it, to a little reach in the river, in sight of the garrison, where they were put to death: and about the same time, Rajah Fulta Sing, and nine more of Ramnarrain's relations, were likewise put to death: and that, on the advance of the army to Patna, they found the bodies of the two Sects buried in an apartment of a house at Bakar; they had been put to death by Cossim's order, and exposed, under a guard of Seapoys, to beasts and birds of prey, that they might not be burned, according to the rites of their religion, being Gentoos.

AND the witnesses proceeded to relate, That about the end of the month they were advanced to the environs of Patna, of which place, after a spirited defence, they made themselves masters on the 6th of November *, by storm; the enemy having, in the course of the siege, got possession of one of their batteries, and blown up their magazine.—After the capture of Patna, the enemy made no further stand.—The army advanced, about the end of December, to the banks of the Carumnassa, the boundary of the province; at which time Cossim, with the shattered remains of his army and treasure, was waiting to complete his bridge of boats over the Ganges, in order to cross over to Shujah Dowlah's country, which he entered on the 4th of December. On the 9th, Major Adams left the army under the command of Major Knox, intending to embark for Europe.—The troops, he said, at this time lying inactive on the frontiers of the province, entertained an idea, that their officers would not proceed to the necessary severity of military punishments; and in his opinion, this was the first grounds of the mutinous disposition which prevailed in their army for some time after, and had well nigh occa-

fioned the loss of the whole province: That about the middle of January * he arrived at Calcutta, where he received the first account of Major Adams's death.

THE witness being questioned as to the condition of Cossim Ally Khan's army, he said, It was better appointed, and better disciplined, than he had ever seen any Indian army before. And being asked, Whether, on the march of the army under Major Adams, the probability of success was on the side of the English or Meer Cossim? he said, To a reflecting mind, it must evidently have appeared in favour of Cossim, though the troops were, he believed, all determined, to a man, either to conquer or die, there being no other resource.

THE witness was also asked, Where Cossim Ally Khan was supplied with the great quantities of artillery he all along appeared to have had? he said, That he purchased the greatest part of his field-artillery clandestinely of the Europeans; that he had carriages made by his own people, from English models; that two six-pounders were delivered over to him at Patna (by whom, he does not know); and that his carriages were made with elevating screws; and in every respect as good as the models.

C H A P. X.

Restoration of Meer Jaffier, and the War with Shujah Dowla, to whom Cossim Ally Khan had fled for Protection.

THE evidence relative to the restoration of Meer Jaffier, and the war with Shujah Dowla, begins with the opinion given by Major Carnac to the Council at Fort William, 4th July 1763; which was as follows:

MAJOR CARNAC entirely disapproved the revolution in favour of Cossim Ally Khan, and did not deem the authority, by which it was ef-

fect, sufficient, from a conviction, if the whole Council had been consulted, the majority would have been against it; yet, from the moment we had the advice of our employers having acquiesced therein, it became our common duty to support to the utmost the new Nizam, so long as our rights and privileges were not infringed by him; and the Major can safely aver, no person at the Board is more truly concerned than himself, at the measures we are under the indispensable necessity of taking. The Nabob Cossim Ally Khan has, for some time past, shewn such an indisposition towards us, as would render it the height of folly to place any confidence in him; and, however inclined the Board have shewn themselves, by their long forbearance, and their sending deputies, to the establishment of a mutual friendship, he has, by his late acts, absolutely put it out of our power, consistently with honour, to come to an accommodation with him; we shall therefore be justified to the Company and the world, in exerting our endeavours for the restoration of Meer Jaffier; an atonement which Major Carnac looks upon as due to him for the injustice which he thinks was done him in deposing him; and he is of opinion he should be proclaimed at Calcutta, and taken up by Major Adams to Moorshedabad, and there placed upon the Musnud; and that a manifesto should be published, setting forth the reasons for the change of government: and there is no doubt but that, as Meer Jaffier, from the consideration in which he has for many years been held, must have a number of friends, several of the most considerable persons in the country will flock to his standard.

MAJOR Carnac begs leave to submit to the Board the terms which, in his opinion, should be made the ground-work of a treaty to be concluded between us and Meer Jaffier.

THE confirmation of the cession of the three provinces of Burdwan, Midnapore, and Chittagong; with this alteration, that they be now made over to us in property, instead of their revenues only being assigned to us, as is the case at present.

AN universal freedom of trade to be allowed us, and the other privileges which the deputies were commissioned to demand of Cossim Ally Khan.

THE defraying the expences of the war, and a full indemnification to be made to the private sufferers, as well as to the public, for all losses sustained. To enable Meer Jaffier to do so immediately, the treasure of Cossim Ally Khan, if laid hold of, to be put into his hands; but in case of failure
herein,

herein, the revenues of the Nuddea province to be mortgaged to us till every body is reimbursed.

THE farm of the Purnea Petre to be given to the Company.

THE ill consequence of suffering an overgrowth of power in a Nabob being but too apparent, he should in future be limited in the number of his forces, so as to be obliged to have his main dependence upon those of the English: the principal of our troops should therefore be stationed at Burrumpoor (where there is a piece of ground already marked out and given to us) where proper cantonments may be erected for them at the Nabob's expence, and the single batta also paid by him. There they will be at hand to be detached wherever he has occasion for their services; and this disposition will preserve our military, it being a very healthy spot; whereas they have fatally experienced (the two last seasons particularly) the unhealthiness of Calcutta.

AGREEABLE to this opinion, Meer Jaffier was again declared Nabob.

Fort William, the 8th December, 1763.

At a Consultation; Present,

The Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esquire, President,

Commodore John B^a. Tinker,

Warren Hastings,

Randolph Marriott,

Hugh Watts,

A. William Senior, Esquires.

AGREED we write a letter to Major Adams, acquainting him that we have paid due attention to the contents of his, as well as of the other letters from Shujah Dowla, Shitabroy, &c.: That we shall immediately fix on some proper person to send as our agent to Shujah Dowla's court, from whom, being informed of the state and interests of the several chiefs of the empire, we may be enabled to judge of any particular engagements Shujah Dowla may propose to enter into with the Company: That in the mean time we have determined thus far, that Shujah Dowla's dominions lying contiguous to the provinces of Bengal, it will be for our mutual interests to maintain a friendship and defensive alliance; and that we do therefore em-
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power him to promise in our name that we shall be ready to assist Shujah Dowla, either against Cossim Ally Khan, or any other enemy who may invade or attack his dominions: That in return, however, we shall expect from him to declare himself openly an enemy of Cossim Ally Khan, and use his utmost endeavours to seize and deliver him up with all his effects: and unless an alliance of this nature is first concluded with Shujah Dowla, or an invitation received from him, Beny Bahadre, or some other officer of note empowered to make it, we would not have our army pass the Carumnassa: That if, in return for this advance of ours towards an alliance, Shujah Dowla, on his part, incline to send a principal person to treat at Calcutta, we desire he will furnish him with the necessary passports; but that if, contrary to our expectations, Shujah Dowla should join his army with Cossim Ally Khan, we desire he will, on the first appearance of such a junction, write to Shujah Dowla in high terms; declaring that we look upon it as an open act of hostility against us, and shall pursue him with all our forces wherever he goes. — That he (the Major) will accordingly in such case advise us, and we shall immediately, with the assistance of the squadron, reinforce him to the utmost of our power, to enable him to enter Shujah Dowla's dominions — That we observe from these letters, Shujah Dowla and Beny Bahadre are desirous of our becoming security for the payment of the King's revenues, in return for the subadary saneds to be granted to the Nabob; but this we would on no account agree to; neither do we think, considering the King's present situation, and the state of the empire, that these saneds are of any such consequence as to make the Nabob anxious for obtaining them at the great expence which has hitherto attended applications to the court — That of these our sentiments he will acquaint the Nabob, and recommend to him not to make any promise of money on that head; pointing out to him at the same time, that the weight and security he derives from our protection is greatly superior to any that can be conveyed him by these saneds; and that all the money he can collect will be wanted to pay his own troops, and fulfil his agreements with the Company — That from what appears to us of Shujah Dowla's circumstances, we think it very possible he would give all his assistance for obtaining the saneds, for the sake only of our offered alliance — And upon this footing, therefore, he (the Major) may acquaint the Nabob that he shall request them — That as these negotiations, the neighbourhood of the King and Shujah Dowla's army, and the large force with which Cossim Ally

Khan has retired from the province, may open scenes of business of great consequence to our nation in India—we must earnestly repeat our request, that he will remain in the command of the army until the event of these doubtful affairs is become more certain.

BUT before these instructions reached Major Adams, he had resigned the command of the army; which he did on the 9th of December 1763: and when this was known to the President and Council, they addressed the following to Major John Carnac:

SIR,

2d February 1764.

AGREEABLY to the resolution of Council the 30th December, you will please to proceed with all expedition to the province of Bahar, and take upon you the command of the army now stationed there. On your arrival at camp, you will direct one hundred Europeans and a thousand seapoys to return to Bengal, as we intend a detachment of that force, with two pieces of artillery, shall always be cantoned at Ghyrottee, and kept in readiness to execute any services which may be requisite below.

As Cossim Ally Khan has now fled out of these provinces, into the dominions of Shujah Dowla, the principal object of the army under your command will be to watch his further motions, and guard and maintain the tranquillity of the frontiers; and you will therefore please to canton the troops as near the boundaries of the province as you may think necessary for these purposes.

FROM the disposition which the King and Shujah Dowla has expressed, in their late letters to us, and the answers which we wrote them, we are in hopes they may determine to surrender Cossim Ally Khan into our hands; or, at least, by stripping him of his wealth, and obliging him to disband his forces, put it out of his power to give us any further disturbance. But if, contrary to our expectations, they should resolve to join the fortune of Cossim Ally Khan, and march with their forces towards Bengal, we desire you will advance the army to the banks of the Carumnassa, and oppose and prevent any enemies from entering the country.

OUR sentiments regarding the conduct to be observed towards the King and Shujah Dowla, you will find contained in our letter of instructions to the late Major Adams, dated 8th December 1763; of which a copy is herewith delivered for your information. And as the answers to the letters which
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were wrote also to them at the same time, must pass through your hands, you will be enabled to take your measures according to the advices which they may contain.

IN this letter to Major Adams, we transmitted our opinion with respect to the Nabob's making application for the King's saneds, and which, you will observe, we desired to be communicated to the Nabob. The President likewise then wrote to the Nabob to the same effect; but we are sorry to find, that notwithstanding our counsel, he continues still very earnest in this point, and has actually executed an agreement to pay to the King twenty-eight lacks of rupees annually, with five lacks Nuzerrana, with a view of obtaining these saneds, and that he is seeking means to remit above one half of that sum immediately to court. In consequence of this intelligence, we have been under the necessity of sending orders to the commanding officer of the army, of which copies are inclosed for your information. And we cannot help repeating here, that we think this step of the Nabob's a mark of bad policy and great imprudence; for making remittances to the King can only be considered as supplying the finances of Shujah Dowla, who seeks but an opportunity of invading and molesting the Nabob's government; nay, is perhaps at this very period become his open and declared enemy. Besides, admitting the royal confirmation to be a matter requisite either for the public or the Nabob's own private satisfaction, it would certainly be a more proper time to apply for it when once all parts of the country have testified a firm allegiance to his government, and he has been fully established in his dominion over it. We shall always endeavour to carry ourselves towards the Nabob in such a manner as to give him no just cause of disgust; but we must hope, and our employers will expect, that, for such conduct, he will not be wanting in a suitable return, by a proper observance of his engagements, and an attention to their interest; and that therefore he will, for the present, set aside the above-mentioned resolution, which plainly tends to their injury in both these respects.

THE Nabob has wrote to the President, that it is his intention to return to Calcutta in the month of March next — we desire, therefore, you will encourage him therein, as far as you may find opportunities, having many points to settle with him, necessary for the welfare of his and our government.

As we are informed that the fort of Rotas remains still independent, we
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desire

desire you will endeavour to reduce it, in case you can find an opportunity; that is to say, if it should appear that it can be done without any inconvenience to the other objects of your instructions, or occasioning the loss of much time and men.

IN consequence of the opinion of yourself and the other field-officers, that the small body of European cavalry we now maintain, can never prove of service adequate to the great expence which attends their establishment, we have determined to reduce them all, excepting one troop — we desire therefore you will incorporate the officers and men with the battalion, and order the horses to be disposed of to the best advantage, after completing the troop commanded by Captain George Hay, which we mean shall stand, to sixty private, and its proper officers.

SENSIBLE of your regard for the Company's interest, we need hardly recommend to you to have in view the reduction of the expences of the army, whenever, and as far as the nature of the services you have to execute will admit.

WE rely entirely on your prudence, courage, and good conduct; and, wishing you always health and success, we are, with esteem, &c.

R. LEYCESTER.

HENRY VAN SITTART.

Before Major Carnac reached the army, the following letters were received:

To the Honourable Henry Vanstittart, Esq; President and Governor of
Fort William.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I AM extremely sorry to inform you, that, notwithstanding all endeavours to keep the troops in due bounds, yesterday morning the European battalion forced the drummers to beat the General, without apprizing any of their officers, and stood to their arms, appointing themselves a leader. After loading their pieces and fixing their bayonets, they took possession of the artillery-parks, forcing the lascars and some gunners to draw out six guns, placing three on each flank; the European horse formed on the right, and the Mogul's on the left; the Seapoys were likewise in motion, but by a timely admonition they desisted. All endeavours were used to pacify the Europeans, but in vain. In this order they proceeded through the Nabob's camp, crossed a nulla, and directed their march towards the Carumnassia.—When I found

found they were not to be stopped at any rate, I sent Captain Stables to apprise the Nabob, who came and met them on their march—offered a lack of rupees, one half to be paid immediately, and the remainder at one o'clock in the afternoon, which was all he could produce in camp; but neither promises or threats could stop them. For want of draught bullocks, the cannon were lost on the road to, and in the Nabob's camp, which I returned to camp again.

I FOLLOWED them, in company with many of the battalion officers, endeavouring to persuade them to march back to camp, and receive the money the Nabob had sent. About a hundred dropt them on the march, and returned: on their arrival at the Carumnassa, they drew up on the parade, in the front of the guns belonging to the detachments, and immediately secured them; in the mean time, the Mogul horse dispersed themselves amongst the seapoys of the detachment, to influence them to join. Here I got them to halt to take a dram and biscuit; while the drams were served, we prevailed on most of the English to return; but the French, and most of the foreigners, persisted in crossing the Carumnassa, to the amount of about three hundred, and proceeded towards Banaras; at the same time, by the influence of the Mogul horse, part of two battalions of seapoys, of the Carumnassa detachment, rushed to their arms, fixed their bayonets, and followed them across the river. Growing towards the evening, I took the remainder of the Europeans with the guns to the grand camp, leaving some officers to assist the seapoy officers. To-day we have got many of the seapoys to return, with some of the Europeans; and I expect most of the seapoys, with about seventy Europeans, will return this evening, on condition of being pardoned. There is a body of Frenchmen, about one hundred and fifty, headed by Serjeant Delamar, and two of the French serjeants, that have halted on the banks of the Ganges, opposite Banaras, but cannot cross for want of boats; I have very little hopes of this party's returning, for it seems to have been a premeditated scheme of the French in particular, to entice the best part of the army over to the enemy, under the pretence of donation-money, at the same time were determined to refuse all offers of cash whatever.

THIS morning I ordered part of the donation to be paid from the lack which the Nabob sent, the Europeans received forty rupees per man, and the seapoys six rupees each; the non-commissioned officers in proportion; this appears to have satisfied them, and I believe most of the Europeans that
have

have returned are ashamed of their proceedings, being convinced of the bad intention of their leaders (the French) to draw them into a crime which they never intended.

I SHALL, with the assistance of my officers, do my utmost endeavour to regain those still missing, and am in great hopes, by their present behaviour, that the fury of the storm is past. However, I think it proper that the army be kept in motion, which may partly prevent the like for the future. I purpose shifting ground often, still keeping the district between the Soane and Carumnassâ, and should be glad to be honoured with your orders and advice.

THE Nabob proposed setting out for Calcutta two days ago, but receiving a letter from Shitabroy, that he should set out from Illiabad immediately with the sonnads, has detained him a few days longer.

I am,

Honourable Sir,

Camp at Sut, near Carumnassâ,

Your most obedient humble servant,

February 12, 1764.

WILLIAM JENNINGS.

Second Letter from Captain Jennings, at Camp, 28 February, 1764.

To the Honourable Henry Vansittart, Esq; President and Governor, &c.
of Fort William.

HONOURABLE SIR,

I RECEIVED your favour of the 5th of February, and should have answered it sooner, but our advices for some time have been very intricate, both from Illiabad, and Shujah Dowla's army.

THE Nabob's (Meer Jaffier) intelligence, which corroborates with ours, are, that Shitabroy is stopped from coming; and that the King and Shujah Dowla are come to a resolution to assist Coffin Ally Khan, and put him again in possession of Bengal. I am informed that Coffin Ally, by order of Shujah Dowlah, has sent Beg Jemmadar, with two hundred horse, and four companies of seapoys, to Bulwant Sing, who is to assist them for their march to Rotasgur, to carry off the treasures and effects left there. Upon enquiry, I find there is no way of preventing this party, but by crossing the Carumnassâ, their route being round the hills, through Bulwant Sing's country, which

which brings them to the western gate of Rotasgur, without entering the Nabob's dominions.

MAJOR Carnac being expected every day at Patna, I have wrote to receive his orders.—I have some reason to think that Shujah Dowla has sent people to our camp to corrupt our men.—I have confined a fukeer, who is accused by an European of offering his service to the revolted party on their way to the Carumnassa, promising to conduct and supply them with provision on their march up the country : and by a letter from Captain Stables, received last night from the Nabob's camp at Doudnagur, he says, 'tis now confirmed that Shujah Dowla enticed our people to desert.

THE army's only complaint is the dearth and great scarcity of provisions. The Budgpoor country has been entirely ruined by Cossim Ally Khan's army, and it is with great difficulty we can get supplies at any rate; most part comes from Patna. I have wrote to Mr. Batson, who has promised to assist us all that is in his power : I likewise dispatch large parties twice a week to Patna for grain ; but notwithstanding which, I am greatly afraid we shall be but ill provided : at present the black troops and servants can barely live on their pay.

Soon after this letter was received by the Council, the following advices were received from Major Carnac, dated at Patna the 1st and 2d of March, the former confirming Captain Jennings's intelligence, with regard to Shujah Dowla and Cossim Ally Khan ; and the latter representing the great inconvenience to which the army is exposed, on account of the extraordinary scarcity and dearth of all sorts of grain, and the discontent which it occasions among the troops, and requesting we will send orders for forwarding them supplies as speedily as possible ; likewise recommending the removal of Captain Grant's battalion of seapoys up to the army, as they have been uninfected, and having a battalion sent from camp to Chittagong in their room.

On the receipt of these letters, the President wrote to the Nabob, desiring he would send orders to his officers in Purnea, Dinagepoor, and Radshy, and the other districts, where grain is most plentifully produced, to collect all they could, and send large quantities to Patna ; and recommending to him the necessity of enforcing these orders.

THE Council also wrote the Major, the 19th of March—We observe the reason there is to expect that Shujah Dowla will either come himself, or favour an invasion into Bahar : that if these advices should prove to have founda-

tion, we think it will be more adviseable to carry the war into Shujah Dowla's country, than to wait for his entering the province: that we desire him, immediately on such confirmation being received, if the troops are to be depended upon, to march the army across the Carumnassa, and proceed to act offensively to the best advantage: that in the mean time we shall hold further reinforcements in readiness, consisting of the detachment of the 84th regiment, the marines of the squadron, and a party of the artillery, which will, in all, make about 200 men, with two pieces of cannon, to march and join the army whenever it shall be judged necessary.

THE President and Council enter the following advices from Major Carnac, dated the 7th and 8th instant; the former advising us of his arrival at the camp, and that all accounts agree, that Meer Cossim has engaged Shujah Dowla to march this way: That the mutinous spirit of the troops is far from being suppressed; for that the officers assure him, they have intimations there will be a further demand made of the donation money, both by Europeans and Seapoys: That a havildar of Captain Galliez's battalion expressed himself so insolently on this matter, he has thought proper to confine him, and send him down to Calcutta in irons; and that he has also ordered down five Europeans, who have been some time under confinement for desertion and other crimes, and recommends their being sent on board the King's ships. The letter of the 8th confirms the intelligence of Shujah Dowla's moving this way.

AGAIN, on the 29th of March, 1764, received a letter from Major Carnac, dated the 15th instant, inclosing a paper of intelligence from the King's camp, and advising us, that finding Shujah Dowla was on the move towards him, he has thought it incumbent upon him to advance the army towards the frontiers, to oppose the enemy's entrance into the province: That he has judged it necessary to make another dividend to the troops, to the amount of twenty rupees to each private European, and half that sum to each seapoy: That the seapoys have now received each 30 rupees, which he looks upon to be as much as they are entitled to, and that this was intimated to them at this last payment: That one of the companies made a little stir on the occasion, but that it ended with his punishing two or three seapoys, who were principally concerned, and turning them out of the service: That the officers, from a conviction the men will never be in right temper, so long as any part of the donation remains due to them, have agreed not to receive their proportions,

tions, till the soldiers have had their intire shares : That after the desertion of so many Frenchmen, he could entertain no favourable opinion of the few who staid behind, and could not avoid being suspicious they did so with some ill view.

AND on the 3d of April received a letter from Major Carnac, dated the 18th instant, inclosing one he has received from Shitabroy ; to which he refers us, for information of Shujah Dowla's intention against us ; and expressing his concern to find, that by the advices from Calcutta, of the 8th, the reinforcement under the command of Captain Pemble had not yet begun their march ; that their being so late, renders it next to impossible for them to join in time, and that he must therefore put every thing to risk, with the force he has at present, however little to be depended on, after what has passed ; further advising us, that he would fain cross the Carumnassa, and give the enemy a meeting, as far as possible from the boundary, but that he fears the distress they are in for provisions, being only supplied from day to day, will not permit his doing so ; and that he shall be obliged to keep close by the Ganges, to secure a conveyance by water, having had intimation that the enemy's design is to hover at a distance around them, and endeavour to cut off their supplies. That a treaty of alliance has been some time in agitation, between the Nabob and Bulwant Sing, the Rajah of Banaras : that the Nabob is now very anxious for its being brought to a conclusion ; and proposed to him, that evening, setting his seal thereto, on the part of the English, without which the Rajah will not enter into any engagement : that he shall be very unwilling to take a step of such a nature, without first knowing whether it be agreeable to us ; but that the present exigency will not admit the delay of waiting our answer.

UPON which the following resolution is entered :—Having duly considered this letter of Major Carnac, we are unanimously of opinion, that as Shujah Dowla has now openly espoused the cause of Cossim Ally Khan, and encourages his design of an invasion into Bengal, we can entertain no further thoughts of entering into a treaty with him ; on the contrary, we think it our duty to form against him all the enemies we possibly can ; that the proposed alliance with Bulwant Sing will therefore be a very proper measure, and prove, as well now as in all time to come, a strong barrier and defence to the Bengal provinces.

AGREED, therefore, that we write to Major Carnac, advising him, that we

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shall

shall approve entirely of his entering into the intended treaty, in concert with the Nabob, and of his engaging to protect and maintain Bulwant Sing independent, both now and hereafter: That the detachment, which in our letter of the 12th we mentioned we should hold in readiness, will march this day from Ghyrottee, under the command of Captain Weymyfs; so that we have now reinforced him with every man that is capable of bearing arms: That, for the defence of this part of the country, particularly the province of Burdwan, against any detached parties which may be sent to make inroads by the way of the hills, we are completing the battalions at Burdwan and Midnapoor, and shall call Captain Grant from Chittagong, with all the seapoys in those parts, excepting one battalion of the new establishment; and that this force, with what assistance Commodore Tinker may yield us, for the service of the artillery, is all we have to depend on: That we must still suppose the Nabob has issued orders to his officers, for sending to Patna all the grain that can be collected in the different countries; but that, for his satisfaction and our own, we shall write to Mr. Gray to be certainly informed, and direct him also to advise him; and if the officers have not received orders to that effect, to purchase all he can on account of the Company, and forward it on to Patna: That we inclose him a letter from the President to Shujah Dowla, with an English translation for his perusal, which, if he thinks it advisable, at the time he arrives, he will please to forward on.

AGREED, That the letter to Shujah Dowla be to the following purport.

THAT it is reported, he has received Cossim Ally Khan into his friendship, and that he is marching this way, in order to support his cause: that, considering the former connections subsisting between him and the chiefs of the Company, we cannot give credit to this report: that we are persuaded he has the utmost regard for justice, and that he will not act in so unequitable a manner: that if, however, such are his real intentions, we shall not neglect to do what is necessary on our part; and that it is our resolution to keep this country free from troubles, and to carry the war into his dominions, and desolate and lay waste his country.

AGAIN, on the 9th April 1764, received a letter from Major Carnac, dated the 22d March, acquainting us, That the enemy are all collecting at and near Benaras, and making preparations for throwing bridges across the Ganges: that he would willingly push over the Carumnassa, with an inten-

tion of obstructing their work, but that the Nabob (Meer Jaffier) is utterly averse to entering Shujah Dowla's country, being unwilling to do any thing that may be construed as a commencement of hostilities on his part: Further repeating his complaints on account of the great scarcity of provisions, and acquainting us, that not chusing to rely on his sole judgment in so critical a case, he consulted Major Champion and the Captains of the army, with regard to crossing into the enemy's country, and the station in which they are at present encamped; and that they are entirely against moving till a supply of grain is secured, and agree with him, that at Buxar they are most advantageously posted for watching the motions of the enemy: that he has ordered a bridge to be laid over the mouth of the Carumnassa, for passing the troops, as soon as he has collected a stock of grain, when he proposes advancing up the Ganges to oppose the enemy's crossing it, or should they be crossed, to offer them battle.

AGREED, We reply to Major Carnac, acquainting him of the reinforcements ordered to camp, under the command of Captains Pemble and Weymyss, so that he will send such orders to those officers as he may judge requisite, in consequence of the operations of the enemy, and the disposition they may make in advancing into the country, particularly in case any detachments of their force should pass between him and Bengal: That we are endeavouring to raise a party of the volunteers who were under Captain Wedderburn, to be employed again in the same manner in armed boats on the river, on any necessary service: that we desire therefore he will direct the boats, which we are informed are at camp, to be repaired, and kept in readiness for embarking them; or, if he thinks proper, he may send them down to meet the party on their march up: That, expecting the Nabob's arrival in Calcutta, we have delayed enquiring into the state of his revenues and expences, and the other branches of his government, which are necessary for settling the articles of the treaty; but that, as that prospect is now very uncertain, we must request he will make the best enquiries he can, and inform us of the state of the Nabob's finances, and how they are managed, as his complaint of want of money appears to us extraordinary, considering he has had the time for making the heavy collections of the year, and but small disbursements that we know of: That it is necessary we should be also acquainted with the state and expence of the Nabob's army; what number of troops he keeps up, and what principal officers he employs and depends

upon: That we should be glad to know further, who are the principal officers about his court, and in his councils: That we know Nundcomar to be one, and to have the chief management of his correspondence; and as we have had too frequent experience of this man's intriguing disposition, and are certain that he has many connections in Shujah Dowla's court, we have reason to suspect that he will employ these connections, at so critical a juncture as this, against our government, as a security for himself in all circumstances: That we cannot be too much on our guard against any such designs, and we should wish therefore to have him entirely removed from the Nabob's service: That if he thinks he can bring the Nabob to consent to his dismissal, we would have it done immediately; but that if he thinks the Nabob will not consent to it, we would have him keep those sentiments entirely to himself, lest it should cause a jealousy in the Nabob, or excite Nundcomar to form worse designs, from the apprehension of such an event, and content himself with taking all possible precautions to prevent his carrying on any correspondence with the enemy:—That it is evident there has been a shameful neglect with respect to collecting grain for the army, since Meer Cossim was driven out of the country before the harvest was reaped; and there never was known a more plentiful crop: That this we cannot help regarding as a particular instance of the mismanagement or wilful neglect of Nundcomar, knowing it to be his duty, from his post, to have attended to that business: That we formerly applied to the Nabob, on account of the Company, for three lacs to be paid at Patna, five at Cossimbuzar, five at Calcutta, and five at Dacca; to which application he replied, He would grant them when he came to Calcutta; but that the time of his coming being now very uncertain, the President has wrote to him again, as the Company's affairs suffer much for want of money, and we are afraid of being distressed to answer even our military expences, and our daily demands: That there is another object of general concern, upon which also we must desire he will apply to the Nabob, if he thinks circumstances will admit of it; we mean the fund for restitution of the merchants losses in the late troubles, for which no provision has been yet made, and which, we perceive by the accounts already delivered in, will amount to a very considerable sum, notwithstanding the regulations we have laid down for reducing the prices of every kind of goods to the lowest: That we are obliged to request his assistance in these points, until Mr. Watts shall arrive at his station with the Nabob, when he will take

take the burden of them off his hands, and inform him of all his proceedings.

And on the 16th April, received a letter from Major Carnac, dated 26th March 1764; inclosing one which he had received from Captain Maclean, advising him of a very daring attempt made by one of the fubdars of his battalion, to decoy his company over to the enemy; and acquainting us, that the man having been tried by a court martial, composed of black officers of the battalions, and found guilty of the charge alledged against him; and the court having given it unanimously as their opinion, that he deserved to be blown from the mouth of a cannon for the same, he had him accordingly executed in that manner the same afternoon, at the head of the army; and expressing his hopes that this public execution will strike a terror amongst the troops, and awe them into better behaviour for the future. — The letter further advises us, that there is now no doubt of a bridge being finished over the Ganges; but they have such various accounts of the different quarters by which the enemy intend penetrating the province, that though they were provided for advancing on, yet he thinks it most adviseable to wait at Buxar, and watch what way they turn their principal force, that they may move thither to oppose them. Also inclosing a paper received from the Nabob, containing advice, that the enemy are encamped at Bulwar Ghant, on the banks of the Ganges, and that bridges for their passage are building with all expedition.

Also on the 16th April, received two letters from Major Carnac, dated the 2d and 4th April 1764, advising us, that from informations which he has received, he has been led to entertain strong suspicions of Nundcomar's fidelity and attachment, and that he apprehends he has ever been engaged in a private correspondence with the enemy: that whatever may be truth, the tenor of Nundcomar's conduct argues strongly against him; to support which, the Major mentions the little assistance we have as yet received from his administration, and particularly instances the distress of the army for want of provisions: that the countries from which we should receive our supplies, have been by him put into the hands of Meer Cossim's creatures; to which we may add, that whatever may be his disposition with regard to the Nabob, we cannot reasonably expect he should have any attachment towards us, considering the circumstances of his having been long under confinement with us, on an accusation of a former criminal correspondence, and his being fully convinced

convinced that it is the intention of our government, if in their power, to get the chief management of the provinces configned over to Roy Dulub : that the very fuspicion (and for which there were fuch grounds) of a man in fo high a degree of confidence with the Nabob, and who, if a traitor, would have it in his power to do us fo much mischief, was reafon fufficient for his wifhing to have him removed, and that he had accordingly exerted all his influence with the Nabob for that purpofe ; but that he always infifted, in reply to his arguments, that he knew Nundcomar to be his friend, and that Roy Dulub was a traitor to him ; and could be brought to no other confeffion, but that if the one was fent away, the other fhould be difmiffed alfo ; to which the Major fears he will be obliged to fubmit, unlefs fome more eligible expedient can be hit upon, as he thinks Nundcomar's remaining with the Nabob, after fo public an accusation, would alone render him our enemy, though he were not fo before. The Major further adds, That the continued want of grain has obliged him to retire towards the Soane, where he can more fecurely depend upon fupplies, and becaufe all his late intelligence agrees that the enemy do not intend fighting us ; but that their delay at the bridges near Benaras is to draw our attention that way, to give time for the divifion they are fending round by the back of the country to get between our army and Patna.

AGREED, in confequence of this advice, That the Nabob be addreffed by the Prefident, in the name of the whole Board, to the following effect :

THAT it is with great concern we find ourfelves under the neceffity of remonftrating to him upon the ill adminiftration of the affairs of thefe provinces fince his acceffion to the government, ftrongly exemplified by the great diftreffs our army has been in for want of grain, though the country was freed from any enemy before the crop was cut, and that it was as plentiful as was ever known ; in the repeated complaints he has made to us of his want of money, though the heaviest collections of the year muft have fallen into his hands ; and in general, from the little he now feems able to give us for the diftreffs of our common enemies : That we cannot impute thefe evils to any but Nundcomar, under whose immediate influence and direction all the affairs of his government have hitherto been conducted : That thefe are ftrong instances of his mifconduct and negligence ; but that what gives us ftill greater reafon to be difatisfied with him is, that from advices lately received from Major Carnac, we have too much reafon to fufpect he has been carrying on a fecret correfpondence

correspondence with the enemy, and counteracting every measure we have been taking for the support of his (the Nabob's) government: That, notwithstanding the repeated representations which have been made to him (the Nabob) for supplies of grain, Major Carnac, for want of it, has been obliged to return to the Soane: That this, with other matters, which have been fully represented to him by Major Carnac, will effectually, we hope, convince him, that the disapprobation we now express at Nundcomar's conduct, arises only from our friendship for him, and a regard for our common safety; that therefore, however backward and cautious we should at all times be not to interfere with the officers of his government, yet the wicked mismanagement of Nundcomar, in the present critical situation of our affairs, obliges us to press and insist upon the immediate removal of that man from his employ: That we take not upon us to recommend a successor, resolving to approve of any man whom he shall please to appoint, if he will but manifest a true zeal for his service; whatever opinion we may have expressed of Roy Dulub, or desire to have him employed, we are ready to acquiesce in his removal to Calcutta, if such is his (the Nabob's) pleasure, at the same time that he sends down Nundcomar, being desirous to give him every proof in our power, that we are not swayed to make this remonstrance from any partiality to the one, or personal dislike to the other: That we are not incautiously or unnecessarily interfering with his authority, which we are determined to support—but are compelled, much against our will, to press the removal of this man, who seems to be undermining both his power and ours: That as we are giving now the strongest instances of our attachment to him, by exerting all our strength to free his country from our common enemies, we must expect that he will so far concur with our endeavours, as immediately to remove Nundcomar from his confidence and service; as, the longer any power continues in his hands, the more endangered is our common safety, by his artifice and misconduct: That we are happy in presenting this address through the hands of Major Carnac, of whose attachment and regard we have repeatedly had such strong proofs, and with whom we have no doubt he will be ready to concur in every necessary measure for the public good.

AGREED also, That we do write to Fort St. George, and to Dacca, Cassimbuzar, and Mantea, advising them of the appearance there is of the country's being invaded by a very numerous enemy; and that although we have no manner of doubt that our forces, under the command of Major Carnac, will
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defeat them, wherever they may be brought to engage, yet we think from their numbers, there is a probability of their dispersing, and making sudden incursions in different parts of the country; and therefore judge it necessary to acquaint them, that it is not on any account our intention they should risk falling into the hands of the enemy, by attempting to make a stand at their factories, which are not calculated for defence, or provided with troops for that purpose; but that, on the approach of any formidable body of troops, we would have them to retreat in time, with what effects they can with safety bring along with them.

The 26th April, 1764, received two letters from Major Carnac, dated the 9th and 17th; the former repeating and explaining fully the reasons which determined him to cross the Soane, and retire towards Patna; and advising us that he is now convinced, from Bulwant Sing's behaviour (of which the Major gives us an account) that his proposed alliance with us was only a concerted scheme to draw us further on, and to favour Shujah Dowla's design of getting between our army and Patna: That in consequence of our former orders, he discharged a number of boats immediately upon his arrival at Patna, insomuch that he has at present scarce a sufficiency for the service; and that the paymaster assures him the accounts of the army have been transmitted to the end of last year, and promises to continue sending them down as regularly as possible.—The last letter acknowledges receipt of ours of the 3d; and acquaints us, That it is something remarkable that that was precisely the day on which he had the debate with the Nabob relative to Nundcomar; that our coincidence of sentiment with him in this particular, amounts to a demonstration that there are strong grounds of suspicion, however we may want direct proof against him; that yet, that the Nabob is so obstinately attached to this man, that he fears there will be no possibility of removing him without having recourse to force, which, at this critical juncture, it would, he thinks, be improper to make use of: That his Excellency is so much out of temper by this affair, that it has occasioned his being so out of order, as not to be willing or able to enter upon business for some days past; that he has deferred giving any answer to his demand on the article of restitution, but had sent orders the day before to the proper officers for the payment of the three lack at Moorshedabad, the said sum at Dacca, a lack and half at Nudya, the same at Honaghty, and one lack at Patna, of which he himself advises the President;

dent : That Beny Bahadre is certainly come on this side the Carunnaffa, by the high road, so that there is no longer any doubt of Shujah Dowla's intending to favour Meer Cossim ; which is further confirmed by a letter inclosed, which he (the Major) had that day received from the Vizier ; to which he advises he had replied in the following terms :—That he was not to be prescribed to by any but the King of England, and the English Company, whose servant he was ; that he (Shujah Dowla) had gone such lengths, that we could no longer look upon him but as an enemy, and that the sword must now decide between them ; that he could not doubt of success, as he was confident, from the justice of our own cause, we could not fail having Providence on our side. — He also incloses one to us, which he supposes is to the same purpose ; and advises us further, That the Bombay detachment had joined him the day before, and that he had sent on two battalions of seapoys, with a couple of guns, and proposes advancing with the army as far as he can be sure of being supplied with grain.

Shujah Dowla's Letters, received from Major Carnac.

From Shujah Dowla to the Governor and Council.

FORMER Kings of Indostan, by exempting the English Company from duties, granting them different settlements and factories, and assisting them in all their affairs, bestowed greater kindness and honour upon them than either upon the country merchants, or any other Europeans. Moreover, of late his Majesty has graciously conferred on you higher titles and dignities than was proper, and jagheers, and other favours since. Notwithstanding these various favours which have been shewn you, you have interfered in the King's country, possessed yourselves of districts belonging to the government, such as Burdwan and Chittagong, &c. and turned out and established Nabobs at pleasure, without the consent of the Imperial Court. Since you have imprisoned dependents upon the court, and exposed the government of the King of Kings to contempt and dishonour ; since you have ruined the trade of the merchants of the country, granted protection to the King's servants, injured the revenues of the Imperial Court, and crushed the inhabitants by your acts of violence ; and since you are continually sending fresh people from Calcutta, and invading different parts of the royal dominions,

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nions, and have even plundered several villages and pergunnas belonging to the province of Illahabad; to what can all these wrong proceedings be attributed, but to an absolute disregard for the Court, and a wicked design of seizing the country for yourselves? If you have behaved in this manner, in consequence of your King's commands, or the Company's directions, be pleased to acquaint me of the particulars thereof, that I may shew a suitable resentment: but if these disturbances have arisen from your own improper desires, desist from such behaviour in future; interfere not in the affairs of the government; withdraw your people from every part, and send them to their own country; carry on the Company's trade as formerly, and confine yourselves to commercial affairs. In this case the Imperial Court will more than ever assist you in your business, and confer its favours upon you. Send hither some person of distinction as your vacqueel, to inform me properly of all circumstances, that I may act accordingly. If (which God forbid!) you are haughty and disobedient, the heads of the disturbers shall be devoured by the sword of justice, and you will feel the weight of his Majesty's displeasure, which is the type of the wrath of God; nor will any submissions or acknowledgments of your neglect hereafter avail you, as your Company have of old been supported by the royal favours. I have therefore wrote to you: you will act as you may think adviseable. Speedily send me your answer.

From Shujah Dowla to Major Carnac.

AGREEABLE to his Majesty's care for the welfare of the people, I now write to you. Consider how the Kings of Indostan have given your Company settlements and factories, exempted them from duties, and conferred greater favours upon them than upon other Europeans, or the merchants of their own dominions: since then, notwithstanding all these favours, you have been guilty of ingratitude to the Court; since you have turned aside from your former paths, and on the contrary have been continually marching your troops into the King's country; and since you have presumed to remove the officers of the Imperial Court, and to turn out and establish Nabobs,—what kind of behaviour is this? — In case you have your King's or your Company's orders for these proceedings, be pleased to inform me of it, that I may shew a suitable resentment: but if it is through
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your own inclinations that you have plundered villages belonging to Illiabad, and that you entertain your evil designs, notwithstanding the approach of the royal standards, it is proper you should desist from such proceedings, and represent your desires to me. In case of your obedience, our favours shall be conferred upon you; otherwise the guilty and disobedient shall be utterly destroyed.

On the 8th of May, in the evening, the Governor and Council received the following Letter from Major Carnac.

GENTLEMEN,

I HAVE received your favour of the 16th, with the Persian letter from the President, and the same in English, signed by the whole Board, to be presented by me to the Nabob, in order to enforce my application for the dismissal of Nundcomar. I have before acquainted you of the Nabob's attachment to this man, and with my being obliged, to avoid coming to extremities, to appear reconciled to him; and to the same reason you will place my not delivering the President's letter at this juncture, as I firmly believe the Nabob is so infatuated, that he would rather give up every thing than part with Nundcomar. His Excellency's conduct subjects me to the greatest inconveniences, and particularly to that of acting defensively.—One would almost think he is engaged in a combination against himself; and had I drawn near to Patna, to cover it as well as him, it is most likely he would have been carried off, and the city taken, there being many of the enemy's adherents both within his camp and the town; and it is more than probable, the parties which have got behind us were for that purpose.

The preservation of the Sircarferang country is of the utmost importance to us for provisions; yet, in spite of all my remonstrances, it has been continued in the hands of one Ramchund, (a known creature of Meer Cossim) whose troops to-day are all gone over to the enemy, so that we hourly expected news of their having entered that pergunnah. As soon as Captain Wemyss arrives, I shall order a detachment over for the security of that country. I propose keeping the marines, and taking this opportunity of separating our people, amongst many of whom the seeds of discontent still remain; which it has required my utmost care to prevent from breaking forth.

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There is certainly somebody tampering with them ; and a number of letters have been lately found dropped in the camp, addressed to our foreigners, with intent to debauch them ; one whereof I herewith send you.

THE accompanying is Shujah Dowla's answer to the last letter from the President, which I took the liberty to open. The main army of the enemy must be pretty near us, though we can get no certain intelligence of them ; their advanced parties of horse plundering and destroying every thing in such a manner, that our hircarrahs are afraid to approach them. I cannot conceive how they, being so numerous, will manage to subsist ; and I think they must be so distressed as to attempt something decisive, and that very speedily.

I HAVE completed the reform of our seapoys, and we have now ten battalions upon the new establishment, pretty near complete in number, but greatly deficient in arms ; some of them are extremely good ; I cannot as yet say so much of the four youngest. One is stationed at Mongheer, and there are two, besides the Bombay seapoys, in garrison at Patna. I have also formed Captain Hay's troop, agreeable to your directions ; and the supernumerary horses, except some spare ones that was necessary to keep, have been sold on the Company's account.

Camp near Patna,
the 30th April, 1764.

Letter from the Governor and Council to Major Carnac.

S I R,

WE must confess ourselves uneasy at the necessity which you have been under of acting upon the defensive, and wish it may soon be in your power to change this plan, as it is beyond doubt, that all our successes against the powers of this empire have been owing to acting offensively, and always pushing to the attack ; and this measure appears the more necessary at this time, as the ill disposition of our troops is likely to be increased by nothing so much as inaction. We are sensible of the difficulties you have had to encounter ; perplexed with the Nabob's bad management, and receiving no kind of assistance from him : we have an entire confidence in your conduct and care, to provide against the ill effects to be apprehended from

from such a situation ; upon which we shall give you our sentiments, leaving it always in your discretion to act as the circumstances upon the spot may direct you.

It appears to us, that Shujah Dowla's intention is to make use of the advantage which he has in a numerous cavalry, to distress you, and cut off your supplies of provisions ; hoping by this plan to gain his point without the risk of an engagement, in which he might have less expectation of success, from the superiority of our discipline. In this view he has succeeded so far ; and we are apprehensive that the same distress which has compelled you to retire to Patna, may in like manner make it as necessary for you to retreat to Bengal, as it will be in his power, by sending parties of horse between you and this province, to intercept any supplies from reaching you.

As you have never mentioned what stock of provisions you have in the city, we have no satisfactory information upon the point ; but unless it is much greater than we can flatter ourselves it is, the daily consumption, without any supply, must soon reduce it. To avoid this danger, if it is possible to take with you, by any means, a stock of a few days, and by forced marches bring Shujah Dowla to action, it appears to us to be an adviseable measure.

If you think this impracticable, or not adviseable, the next alternative that occurs to us is, to leave a part of the army strongly posted at or near Patna, for the security of the city ; and either conduct yourself, or send the remainder of the forces across the river, to march from thence into Shujah Dowla's country, pushing directly for Banaras ; by which they would not only cut off the supplies which come to Shujah Dowla from that quarter, but probably induce Bulwant Sing to come over to our interests, and join in distressing him on that side. It is at the same time probable, that upon the appearance of such a force, other parties may rise upon his dominions, who may be glad to seize such an occasion to favour some pretensions of their own.

It is not supposed that Shujah Dowla would leave his own country exposed to many enemies, for the sake of carrying on an unprofitable war in Bengal ; but if he should, notwithstanding the march of the detachment of ours into his country, take the resolution of passing Patna, and entering Bengal, the part of the army left at Patna must come down to us by water, excepting a garrison of seapoys for the defence of the city ; which, when joined by the
force

force we have at Burdwan, and the reinforcement we may soon expect from Madras and from Europe, will be sufficient to oppose him, and especially at a season when the rains will make it very difficult for horse to act.

CONCERNING the proceedings of the party on the other side of the river, in case of Shujah Dowla's return, we can only say in general, that we would have the war carried on in his country ; for which purpose our whole force could join again in such manner as you may find the most adviseable.

WITH respect to the Nabob, his presence will always be an incumbrance to you ; and it would be much better for him to remain at Patna, or return to Calcutta.

WE cannot help expressing surprize, that the parties which have harrassed our camp have never met with any resistance from his horse : if the Nabob keeps none, it is absolutely necessary that you should endeavour to entertain a body of horse, to act under your own orders, and who must be paid by the Nabob.

Fort William,
14 May, 1764.

HENRY VAN SITTART,
SAMUEL MIDDLETON,
RALPH LEYCESTER,
JOHN BURDETT.

Letter from Major Carnac, dated Camp near Patna, the 4th May, 1764.

GENTLEMEN,

THE united forces of the enemy, who were exceeding numerous, and had with them a considerable number of cannon, presented themselves before us early yesterday, in order of battle ; and after cannonading some time at a distance, began a little before noon a very vigorous and warm attack. Sombro, with the choice of the infantry, supported by a large body of cavalry, made an attack upon our front ; but not being able to advance upon so heavy a fire as we gave them, they lay under cover, waiting for the success of the assault upon our rear, where the enemy exerted their principal efforts : it was sun-set before we had completely repulsed them : our people were so extremely fatigued with the labour of the day, and having been up most part of the preceding night, in expectation of the attack, that they were not able to pursue, and the enemy took the opportunity of the dusk to carry off their

their cannon. I had enough to do to look to every quarter, as I was obliged to divide my attention between the city, the Nabob's camp, and our own post. All the principal officers distinguished themselves in their respective stations; and I cannot say too much of the good behaviour of the army in general, and in particular of the seapoys, who sustained the front of the attack. The enemy must have met with an immense loss, as our fire was very close, and extremely well distributed. I have not yet been able to get an exact account of ours; in Europeans it is inconsiderable: Captain Nottikens and Lieutenant Gardiner are the only officers wounded, but both dangerously; the former has received such a wound as, it is thought, will occasion the loss of a leg; and the latter has had both his legs broke.

I WAIT with impatience to know what effect this success will have upon the designs of the enemy.

THE Governor and Council reply to the Major in the following terms:

THAT it is with real satisfaction we have received the advice of his success: that so severe a repulse given to the enemy on their first attempt, we should hope, may be attended with the most favourable consequences to our cause; and that being extremely sensible of the share which may be attributed to his good conduct in this essential service, we beg leave to return him our best acknowledgments: that it gives us pleasure to observe on this occasion, that such a general perseverance and order prevailed among the troops, particularly among the seapoys; and that we desire he will return our best thanks to all the officers and men for that bravery and good behaviour.

AGREED, we do further advise the Major of Mr. Watts's return; and desire he will use his endeavours to persuade the Nabob to come down as soon as possible, as he must only be an incumbrance to him in camp, and we have many material points to settle with his Excellency here.

Fort William, the 21st May, 1764.

NOT having received any advices from Major Carnac since the 4th instant, the Governor and Council came to the following resolution:

AGREED, we write to him, that this silence has laid us under the necessity of taking our information of the affairs of the army from reports and private letters.

letters. By these we are given to understand, that, ever since the repulse of the enemy on the 3d instant, their army has lain within two or three cofs of our camp: That, latterly, frequent messages have passed between their camp and ours, and particularly, that Mendi Aly Khan has come over to us with some of his dependants: That as we are convinced of the treacherous disposition of the people we have to deal with, and have no accounts from him of the plan on which he proceeds, we cannot help apprehending bad consequences from this delay; and that the enemy may be endeavouring to amuse, and gain time to answer some purpose of their own, perhaps forming parties in the city of Patna, or in our camp: That he will easily perceive, by the tenor of all our letters, that we had resolved, from the beginning, not to treat with Shujah Dowla, if ever he took the part of Meer Cossim, and that we departed not from this resolution even when our army was under some difficulties; far less shall we think of such a measure now, when he is at the head of an army which, we flatter ourselves, will be sure of success whenever they engage: That we had a convincing proof of the good disposition of the troops, from their behaviour in the last action; and as his apprehensions on this head seem to be the only point of difficulty, we hope he has, before this time, made use of their good disposition in attacking and driving the enemy out of the country: That we can entertain no thoughts of treating with Shujah Dowla, having no conception of any concessions which it is in his power to make us; that the only ones we could ever listen to, must be the delivery up of Meer Cossim, Sombro, and our deserters; and those, from the part they compose of Shujah Dowla's strength, we judge it by no means in his power to perform; nor would we have our operations suspended for the space of one hour, until these persons are put into our hands: That we have much reason to imagine the Nabob may give into any overtures for a negotiation, from the vain notion of holding the Subadar by the King's authority, independent of our support; but that he must by no means be allowed to carry on any correspondence without his (the Major's) knowledge, neither in the present circumstances to receive any funnuds from the King or Shujah Dowla: That in this, and all other measures, the Nabob must be entirely ruled by him whilst the war continues.

AGREED, that we further advise the Major of Captain Stibbert's promotion to a majority, resolved on this day in the other deparment.

AGREED, that we write likewise to Mr. Billers, the chief at Patna, directing him,

him, whilst the war continues, to advise us daily of the occurrences, so far as may come to his knowledge.

RECEIVED a letter from Mr. Gray, at Maulda, dated the 13th instant, acquainting us, that he cannot comply with our orders of the 7th, for purchasing grain, unless we send him a sum of money; that he, however, takes all opportunities of encouraging the merchants to send rice to camp, and that he has prevailed with several to a large amount.

AGREED, we write him in answer, that as it is not in our power to send him any supply of money, we must be satisfied with the measures he has taken for assisting the army with grain; and have only to desire, that he will continue to prevail on the merchants to carry thither as large quantities as possible.

THE 24th of May 1764, received a letter from Major Carnac, dated the 16th, acquainting us, that he has delayed thus long writing to us, since his last, from his constant expectation of a fresh attack, which his daily intelligence has given him reason to believe the enemy were preparing for: That he so effectually covers the Nabob, that he thinks it his business rather to receive than give the attack, especially as the manœuvre of the enemy seems intended to draw him after them, that they may have an opportunity of detaching a party to carry off the Nabob, in which they would probably succeed, was he to leave them: That besides, in his present position, he can restrain the seapoys; whereas when they are pushed forwards, there is no possibility of preventing them from pressing on and breaking, which Captain Swinton and himself have experienced in one or two skirmishes, not being able to stop them from advancing irregularly and firing, though they threw themselves in their front: That he is sorry to have occasion to add, as another reason to his little dependence on a part of his Europeans, occasioned by an uncommon instance of misbehaving in a detachment of about one hundred and twenty of them, which he had sent in the 13th and 14th, with Captain Smith's battalion of seapoys, to reconnoitre to the eastward of the city, in expectation of surprising some of the enemy there; that by some mismanagement they were fired upon from the walls of Patna, though without receiving any damage; but that the whole of the Europeans went immediately to the right about; that this may perhaps have arose from a general panic occasioned by the firing, but that he rather suspects it was done designedly by the foreigners, of whom the advanced guard was chiefly composed;

that Captain Smith's seapoys, notwithstanding, proceeded in the course he had directed, but found nobody : That Captain Weymyss with the marines had joined him, but he left Captain Maugen on the other side, with the remainder of the detachment, where he has performed a very material service, in defeating a body of troops collected by the disaffected Zemindars in the Sircar Sarang district, which he hopes will secure to us that country : That as the enemy have kept so long hovering about their present station, he thinks it probable they do not choose to involve themselves further downwards ; and if they continue to keep aloof, he shall watch their motions, and wait for an opening to attack them, with the least risk and the most advantage : That he has received our letter of the 26th ultimo, with the letter for Shujah Dowla : That Nundcomar's late behaviour has been such as to remove almost entirely the suspicion of his being engaged in treachery, however faulty he may have been in other particulars : That ever since the appearance of the enemy he has, by his master's and his own earnest request, kept close to him (the Major) ; which is a strict argument, that he was not concerned in any treasonable practices, as he was under his eye, and could not of consequence himself reap any advantage therefrom.

The President lays before the Board the following Translates of Letters, which he has received inclosed in one from the Nabob.

From Shujah Dowla to the Nabob Meer Jaffer.

Dated the 12th of May, 1764.

FORMERLY, when these provinces were in your possession, the English making an agreement with Meer Mahomed Cossim Khan, carried you to Calcutta, and appointed him to the government : afterwards they quarrelled with him, and brought you again from Calcutta. Agreeably to the hearty friendship I have for you, I was much rejoiced at hearing this news ; and you must accordingly remember the letters which I wrote to you some time ago. Upon your arrival on this side of Patna, I procured you the sunnuds from the King, and intended dispatching them to you. In the mean time, I received advice that the English were making a disturbance, and wanted to send you by force from Saont to Calcutta. Since, notwithstanding his Majesty had conferred honours upon you, and the hearty friendship

I bear

I bear you is clearer than the sun, yet the English, regardless both of the royal favours and my friendship, were guilty of such unjustifiable behaviour, I therefore marched this way, not at Meer Cossim's desire, but because I could not suffer the King's country to be so ruined and destroyed, now that his Majesty has bestowed these provinces upon my son Aulhuph-ul-Dowla, who is your nephew. Look upon yourself as the rightful manager of all the affairs of government, and deliver it from the daily insults to which it is exposed. Affairs shall not remain upon their present footing, nor shall the hand of any one be upon you: the districts which belong to the English I will get confirmed to them by the King, in case of their faith, obedience, and attachment.

From the Nabob Meer Jaffier to Shujah Dowla, in Answer.

I HAVE been honoured with your friendly letter. At the time when that tyrant, Meer Cossim, fled from these provinces to your Highness's dominions, the English were desirous of pursuing immediately, over the bridge which he had passed, in order to bring to justice for his violences and oppressions; but I forbade them, and prevailed upon them to encamp on Durgaonty Nulla, on this side the Carumnassa, for these four months past. What earnest and repeated solicitations have been made you, both by the English and myself; but you would by no means listen to our requests. Through the intrigues of wicked men you have refused justice to the English, and have proceeded to these lengths. Although in the time of former Nazims, the affairs of these provinces have always been negotiated at the Imperial Court, through the means of the head buckshy, yet, on account of my hearty attachment to your Highness, I have ever represented my affairs to you; and as you were several times graciously pleased to do me the honour of declaring that you would be answerable for my business, I set my heart at ease, in full confidence in your promises, and never made application to any other person; and the English, through my persuasions, were so faithfully attached to you, that they were ready to attend you, and to sacrifice their lives in your service. Now, likewise, if you will do them justice on that tyrant Meer Cossim, they will not be negligent in shewing their fidelity to you; and my attachment and hearty obedience will daily increase.

ON the receipt of these letters from Meer Jaffier, the Governor and Council agreed to write Major Carnac, inclosing him copies of these letters, and acquainting him we find from them, that the enemy have made proposals for treating; and proposals have been given them, that we might be inclined to come to terms: That we advised him in our last, and now repeat, that we shall receive no proposals from Shujah Dowla; neither would we suffer any of his messengers to come into our camp, or the Nabob's, unless Meer Cossim, Sombro, and our deserters, be sent delivered up.—Further, in answer to his letter, that we have paid due regard to the reasons which he urges for having continued to act so long upon the defensive; but that we must say they do not carry the same weight with us. With regard to the Nabob, that he cannot possibly expect, nor can our whole army ever be allowed to remain in a state of inaction, merely to protect his person, especially when it is considered that this end may be as effectually secured by his retiring into Patna: That on this step, therefore, he must immediately determine, unless he should rather resolve to accompany our army, and take an equal chance with them in attacking the enemy: That the misbehaviour of the party of Europeans, in the night of the 13th and 14th, we hope may have been owing entirely to the unexpected fire on them from the walls of the city; but if, on the contrary, there is really any remains of mutiny or dissatisfaction among the troops, it is certain there is nothing so dangerous, or can tend more to increase such a disposition, than waiting in inaction the attacks of the enemy; that this is a strong reason for pursuing the plan we have recommended of acting offensively; and a still stronger is, that if we allow the war to be protracted in this country, it will be impossible for us to supply him with the immense sums of money which are now required in defraying the expences of the army; for we already find ourselves greatly distressed to discharge the draughts from the paymaster, and answer the demands of other detachments, which have taken the field, with the current expences of the settlement: That the Nabob's welfare and interest being so intimately connected with ours, we think he cannot well refuse to assist us in this point, whenever he has it in his power; and that we therefore desire he will represent to him the present necessity, and endeavour to obtain a general order on the Naibs of Moorshedabad and Dacca, for the payment of whatever sums we may call for on our receipt: That in his letter he acknowledges to have received ours of the 26th ultimo, with the President's letter to Shujah Dowla;

Dowla ; but does not mention his having sent it to him ; that if he has not, we desire he will please to forward it, according to our first intention, as we think it is proper that letter should be sent him at all events.

THE 29th May 1764, received a letter from Major Carnac, dated the 19th instant, acknowledging the receipt of ours of the 7th and 9th, and acquainting us, in answer to the latter, That he has long had in view the operation we recommend as the alternative, and thinks it bids the fairest for totally disconcerting the enemy ; but that it cannot be begun till the arrival of Captain Wedderburn ; by which time he also expects the waters will be risen ; and will then, unless in the interim he has the good fortune to perform something decisive, set about putting it into execution : That Bulwant Sing he always suspected was only amusing him with the proffered treaty ; and his conduct has demonstrated it so, for that he is personally with Shujah Dowla ; and his troops were amongst the most forward in the last attack : That in the precautions we have taken to have him supplied with grain, and the advantage of the river, he shall be secure of provisions : That in his present situation, he finds no other inconvenience but the want of cavalry ; and that he proposes, therefore, employing Mendee Ally Khan, to raise a body of Moguls, amongst whom he has much interest, and to add to Mirza Shaber Beg's troops.

The President lays before the Board the following Letters from the Nabob.

From the Nabob.

Dated 15th May, 1764.

I HAVE already sent you copies of letters which I have received from the Vizier of Rajah Beny Bahadre, and of my answers to them. By the contents thereof, you must be acquainted with the King's having granted the three provinces to the Vizier's son. At present Rajah Beny Bahadre and Affud Aly Khan, brother to Golaum Aly Khan, deceased, who is an old friend of the Vizier's, in consequence of his Highness's directions, have written to me, in answer to my letters, to give up only the province of Patna. Copies of these letters, and my answers to them, I have sent inclosed for your observation. When you are acquainted with the particulars thereof, be pleased to let me know what you think adviseable to reply to this demand, that if they again treat with me on this subject, I may write to them accordingly.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Mharajah Beny Bahadre, to the Nabob Meer Jaffier.

I HAVE had the pleasure to receive your letter, mentioning that, in case the Court will revenge the cause of the English, you are ready to perform the duties of obedience and fidelity. The sentiments of friendship which were before engraved on my heart, are not expressed in the contents of your letter; but I imagine you have good reason for writing in such a manner. Out of the great regard I have long had for you, I entered on a negociation with you, notwithstanding your unfriendly behaviour. I was in hopes that, in order to make amends for your past neglects, you would have given your consent, and settle things on a proper footing: all depends upon the blessing of God, and your and the English gentlemens approbation; as there is a hearty friendship between me and Affud Aly Khan, and every negociation is carried on with his concurrence. I have fully acquainted him with all circumstances tending to our mutual welfare, and he will write them for your information. Since you are a man of understanding and experience, you will doubtless give your consent to what he represents to you. In case of your approbation, be pleased to inform me thereof, that I may send him to you; if not, whatever is the will of God.

Copy of a Letter from Affud Aly Khan to the Nabob.

I, WITH Mharajah Beny Bahadre, presented to the Vizier your letter in answer to mine, which I had the pleasure of receiving at nine o'clock in the morning; and the Mharajah presented to him the letters which he had received from you; and at the same time Mharajah Nundcomar's letters, and our hazee, were presented to him by Hofan Aly Beg Khan. On perusal of them, his Highness was much displeased, and said to Mharajah Beny Bahadre and me, "When a person has put himself under the protection of the King and the Vizier, where is the justice and propriety of delivering him into the hands of his enemies, or imprisoning him? That they have made such demands. The contents of their letters can by no means be productive of good."—After many representations, his Highness declared his final resolution as follows:—"Let the province of Patna be resigned: the authority rests with us; we will appoint whomsoever we please to the Naibat of the

“the province. When this point is agreed to, we will consider about punishing the enemy, and doing justice to the English; otherwise they must be rooted out and destroyed.” Moreover, his Highness has given strict orders that no one should correspond with you: but Mharajah Beny Bahadre and I have written you the particulars, agreeably to his Highness’s and Mharajah’s orders: consider them well, and send me such an answer, that these disturbances may be removed. Inclosed is a letter from the Mharajah.

Copy of the Nabob’s Answer to Mharajah Beny Bahadre.

I RECEIVED your letter, wherein you write that the sentiments of friendship, which of old were engraved in your heart, are not expressed in the contents of my letter. Affud Aly Khan’s letter has acquainted me of the particulars of this affair. — As I had the greatest confidence in your friendship, I did not expect you would have written to me in such a manner. I am in the utmost surprise at your making so unexpected a demand of me, and at your regarding my request that the English may have justice done them, as contrary to the ties of friendship. Had you formerly promised to punish the enemy on condition of my assenting to so improper a demand as you now made in Affud Aly Khan’s letter, my obedience would not have carried me so far as to engage me in any thing productive of shame and repentance; nor should I have neglected the care of honour. — Since you are inclined to war, you will not be pleased with any reasonable or just proposal that I may make you. If such are your views, no agreement can be made; and till an agreement is made, the sending Affud Aly Khan would be useless: as for the rest, whatever is the will of God is best; he that cannot procure justice from the King, will procure it from God. — I have written an answer to Affud Aly Khan’s letter; by that you will be acquainted with the particulars.

P. S. From the contents of your last letter, I perceive, that what you said to me by Chintalyram, and what you wrote me in the letter which you sent by his hands, was all a dream. — Where such inconsistency appears, it is a difficult matter for a kingdom to flourish. — In all cases I am very ready to obey any reasonable and just command. A little attention and consideration is necessary on your part also.

Copy

Copy of the Nabob's Answer to Affud Aly Khan.

I HAVE been favoured with your letter, acknowledging the receipt of one from me ; and mentioning that you, with Mharajah Beny Bahadre, presented it to the Vizier ; and that at the same time my arzee to his Highness, and Mharajah Nundcomar's letters, were presented to him by Hofern Aly Beg Khan : That he was displeased on perusal of them, and said to Mharajah Beny Bahadre and you, " When a person has put himself under the protection " of the King and the Vizier, where is the justice or propriety of delivering " him into the hands of his enemies, or imprisoning him ? that they have " made such a demand. The contents of their letters can by no means " be productive of good." That it is his Highness's final resolution that I shall resign the province of Patna : That he will appoint whomsoever he pleases to the Naibat thereof : That when this point is agreed to, he will consider about punishing the enemy, and doing justice to the English, and that otherwise we must be rooted out and destroyed : That he has given strict order for no one to correspond with us but Mharajah Beny Bahadre, and you ; and that you send me inclosed a letter from the Mharajah. What shall I write to so unjust and unreasonable a demand ? How can I consent to a proposal so foreign from my own inclinations, and so contrary to the rules of friendship ? As his Highness has been pleased to rest his doing justice to the English upon so unequitable a condition, it is evidently his resolution not to do them justice. You could yourself represent in a proper manner the unreasonableness of this proposal, but that you are restrained by the fear of offending. I have by no means neglected the duties of obedience and fidelity. Notwithstanding it has always belonged to the head buckshy to negotiate the affairs of these provinces, yet I placed my whole dependence upon his Highness the Vizier, and not to any one else ; and now this is the reward I reap. My letters contained nothing but a petition of justice, and professions of fidelity : since then his Highness is nevertheless offended at it, to what can this be attributed but to deceit and artifice ? Since my sincere and just representations are not consented to, but produce such unreasonable demands in reply, I shall remain silent in future. If you think it unjust and improper to inflict due punishment on such a tyrant and murderer as Cossim, on account of his having put himself under the protection of the King and Vizier, with what right

right do you order me to give up the province of Patna, which has so lately been confirmed to me by Firmaunds and Sunnuds under their seals? With regard to what you write about me considering this affair, the past is gone, the future is uncertain. This is my state at present; what will it be to-morrow, in case I consent to this demand?

AS by these letters it appears, that a correspondence, and steps to a negotiation, are still carrying on between the Nabob and Shujah Dowla, we think it absolutely necessary to have a gentleman stationed at the Nabob's court, to send us the necessary advice on this and other material points; and as, in the present situation of affairs, it would be too much time lost to send a Resident from hence;

AGREED, Mr. Batson be appointed to attend constantly at the Nabob's court; and that we write him, that as the constant attention which Major Carnac is at present obliged to pay to the motions of the enemy's, and the operations of our own army, may prevent him from obtaining and sending us the necessary information of what passes at the Nabob's court, we have thought proper to appoint you Resident there: we direct, therefore, that you enter upon this office immediately on receipt hereof, transmitting to us daily advice of every thing that occurs.

WE must desire you will inform yourself, as far as you can discover, what may be the Nabob's motives and views in entering into a treaty with Shujah Dowla, and what steps have been taken in it; for our own part, we are resolved to enter into no treaty with him, unless Meer Cossim, Sombre, and our deserters, be first put into our hands as a preliminary; you will therefore acquaint the Nabob, that this is our resolution, assuring him, we will accede to no treaty he shall make on any other terms.

IN our letter to Major Carnac of the 3d of April last, we desired he would inform himself, and advise us of the state of the Nabob's finances, and how they are managed; the state of, the number, and expence of his army; the names of the principal officers he employs, and depends upon, and of the principal persons about his court, and in his councils; we have also desired, in later letters to the Major, that he would apply to the Nabob for general orders on the Naibs of Moorshedabad and Dacca, to pay us whatever sums we may have occasion to demand, on our receipt, in order to assist in defraying our present heavy expences, and for orders for twenty lacks of rupees, towards

the payments of losses, from the restitution fund. The execution of all these points will now become your duty, and we desire you will exert your best endeavours to satisfy our inquiries, and obtain the orders as soon as possible; we should think a compliance with the money-demands cannot subject the Nabob to any inconvenience, as he has had the time in his hands for making the heavy collections of the year, and no large disbursements that we know of.

RECEIVED a letter from Major Carnac, dated the first instant, acquainting us, that Shujah Dowla, finding himself deceived in the fond hopes he had of carrying all before him, has evidently, for some time past, wanted to introduce a negotiation, in order that he might go back, and yet save his credit; that he has letters in proof thereof, from most of his great men, which he thinks are dictated by Shujah Dowla, though his pride would not permit him to make the advance directly from himself; that he incloses us some of the original letters, with the copy of one which he has received from the King, mostly wrote in his own hand; and that he has wrote him the answer, which he has invariably given to all who have interfered, That he would hearken to no terms of accommodation whatever, unless Meer Cossim and Sombre were first delivered up to him.

WE are determined to prosecute the war against Shujah Dowla, and endeavour to take possession of the Gauzypoor country, and collect its revenues, to assist in defraying the expences of the war.

WE have wrote to Mr. Batson to come down to Calcutta, and have desired the Nabob to deliver into the Major's hands securities for the payment of two lacks of rupees a month, to defray the expences of the army.

WE think it absolutely necessary to proceed against Shujah Dowla without loss of time, nor stop till we have convinced him that we are capable of acting offensively as well as defensively; otherwise we shall, without doubt, be liable to have the provinces invaded, whenever the state of affairs in his own country will admit of turning his thoughts this way.

RECEIVED the following letter from Major Carnac, dated the 10th instant:—Myr Bychu has been again with me, and brought me letters from the King, Munyr o Dowla, and Shakir o Dowla, with assurances that Meer Cossim should be arrested and punished: and Shujah Dowla has himself wrote to me, declaring he would abide by what Munyr o Dowla promises. I have returned with him this general answer, That nothing could procure them a reconciliation:

ciliation with the English, and their friendship, but the actual delivery to us of Meer Cossim and Sombre.

THE Nabob and his Ministers are of opinion that this will at last be consented to; I cannot say I flatter myself with so happy an event; yet, whilst there are the faintest hopes of these villains being consigned to our vengeance, surely we owe so much regard to the memory of our murdered friends and countrymen, to try to bring it about; to effect which, I think we ought readily to forgive Shujah Dowla's invasion. I entirely concur with you, Gentlemen, that peace ought not to be made with him upon any other terms; and that he is desirous of an accommodation seems probable, from his having dispatched expresses to call to him Shitabroy, who is daily expected at their camp. Shujah Dowla must come to a speedy determination, as the scene of war is now shifting towards his country.

Consultation, 25th June, 1764.

RECEIVED a letter from Major Carnac, dated the 16th instant, acquainting us, that the detachment he ordered over the Ganges has produced the effect he expected from it; for upon advice of their having crossed the Dewa, and begun hostilities in the districts of Gauzypoor, Shujah Dowla has judged it necessary to retire towards his own country: that the Major now proposes crossing the Ganges himself immediately.

AGREED, we write to Major Carnac, that we are resolved to continue the war against Shujah Dowla, until he submits to the conditions we have prescribed.

MAJOR CARNAC desired leave to resign his command. The Council sent their permission, and at the same time requested Meer Jaffier to leave the army at Patna, and come down to Calcutta, as they wanted to settle many points with him, of essential consequence to his government and their own*.

* June 1764.

C H A P. XI.

Colonel Monro's account of the operations of the army, after he succeeded Major Carnac in the command. The defeat of Shujah Dowla. The Mogul puts himself under the protection of the English. The death of Meer Jaffier; and the advancement of his son Najim ul Dowla to the government. General Carnac returns to the command of the army, in January 1765.

Colonel Monro says,

IN April 1764 I was under the King's orders, from his Majesty's Secretaries of State and War, to return to Europe with such of his Majesty's troops as did not chuse to enlist into the Company's service; I was accordingly to have embarked with the troops the beginning of May, on board a Mocoa ship, which was to sail for Europe; but before I embarked, there were two expresses arrived from Bengal, acquainting the Governor and Council at Bombay that Shujah Dowla and Cossim Ally Khan had marched into the province of Bengal, at the head of 60,000 men; that Major Adams, who commanded the army, was dead; that the settlement of Calcutta was in the utmost consternation, and the Company's affairs in the utmost danger; they therefore requested that the Governor and Council of Bombay would apply to me to go round immediately to take the command of the army with his Majesty's troops, and as many as could be spared from the presidency of Bombay. As his Majesty's intention in sending out his troops to India, by the orders I had, was to assist and defend the Company in their different settlements, I thought it would not be answering the intention of sending them out, to return and leave the Company's affairs in that situation; I therefore complied with the request, and arrived at Calcutta with his Majesty's troops, and a detachment of the Company's from Bombay, some time in the month of May, 1764. Mr. Vansittart, who was then Governor, acquainted me that the army under the command of Major Carnac had been, since the death of Major Adams, and Shujah Dowla and his army had come into the province, upon the defensive, and retreated before the enemy; but I am sure, from Major Carnac's gallant behaviour upon every occasion, that he will be able to give a proper
account

account for his conduct in that campaign. Mr. Vansittart requested that I would immediately repair, with the troops I had carried round from Bombay, to join the army, who were in cantonment at Patna, and take the command of them. I found the army, Europeans as well as Sepoys, mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers to the enemy, demanding an augmentation of pay, demanding large sums of money which they said had been promised them by the Nabob, and disobedient to all order; 400 of the Europeans had gone off in a body, and joined the enemy, some time before I joined the army. This being the situation the army was in, I fully determined to endeavour to conquer that mutinous disposition in them, before I would attempt to conquer the enemy. I accordingly went with a detachment of the King and Company's Europeans from Patna, with four field pieces of artillery, to Chippera, one of the cantonments: I think the very day, or the day after I arrived, a whole battalion of Sepoys, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy; I immediately detached about 100 Europeans, and a battalion of Sepoys, whose officers told me they thought they could depend upon them not to desert, with two field pieces, to endeavour to come up with the deserters, and bring them back to me; the detachment came up with them in the night-time, found them asleep, took them prisoners, and carried them back to Chippera: the officer who commanded the detachment sent me an express, acquainting me with the hour he would arrive at Chippera with the prisoners; I was ready to receive them, with the troops under arms. Upon their arrival at Chippera, I immediately ordered the officers to pick me out 50 of the men of the worst characters, and who they thought might have enticed the battalion to desert to the enemy; they did pick out 50; I desired them to pick me out 24 men of those 50, of the worst characters; I immediately ordered a field court-martial to be held by their own black officers, and, after representing to the officers the heinous crime the battalion had been guilty of, desired they would immediately bring me their sentence: they found them guilty of mutiny and desertion, sentenced them to suffer death, *and left the manner to me; I ordered immediately four of the 24 to be tied to the guns, and the artillery officers to prepare to blow them away*: there was a remarkable circumstance—four grenadiers represented, as they always had the post of honour, they thought they were intitled *to be first blown away*; the four battalion men were untied from their guns, and *the four grenadiers tied and blown away*; upon which the

European officers of the battalions of Sepoys, who were then in the field, came and told me, that the Sepoys would not suffer any more of the men to be blown away. I ordered the artillery officers to load the four field pieces with grape-shot, and drew up the Europeans with the guns in their intervals; desired the officers to return at the heads of their battalions; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, and, if one of them attempted to move, I would give orders to fire upon them, and treat them the same as if they were Shujah Dowla's army. They did ground their arms, and did not attempt to take them up again: *upon which I ordered sixteen more of the 24 to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the same as the first*; which was done: I immediately ordered the other four to be carried to a cantonment, where there had been a desertion of the Sepoys some time before, with positive orders to the commanding officer at that cantonment, *to blow them away* in the same manner at the guns; which was accordingly done, and which put an end to the mutiny and desertion.

I PREPARED to take the field as early as possible after the rains with the army; and fixed the 15th of September for the rendezvous of the troops from their different cantonments. A couple of days before the army marched, I had intelligence that the enemy had advanced several parties of horse, and had thrown up some breast-works on the banks of the Soane, to impede the crossing of the troops: I ordered Major Champion, with a detachment and four field pieces, to march and cross the Soane some miles below where the army was to cross, after fixing with him the hour and day that I intended to arrive at the Soane with the army: I desired that he might be at that time on the other side, and endeavour to dislodge the enemy, and cover the landing of the troops. That officer was so pointed in executing his orders, that he began to fire upon the enemy just as the van of the army appeared on the banks of the Soane, and soon dislodged them; by which means the whole army, in four hours, was landed on the other side without the least molestation. I continued to march on towards Buxar, where the enemy was; the last two or three days march, the line of march was a good deal harassed by the enemy's cavalry, so much, that two serjeants and six or seven men of the advanced guard were killed. Upon the 22d of October we arrived at Buxar, and encamped just without range of the enemy's shot; and upon my going to reconnoitre their situation, with some of the field officers, I found the greatest part of
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them

them were entrenched with the Ganges upon their left, and the fort or village of Buxar on their rear. I intended to have attacked their camp about one or two in the morning of the 23d, and sent out spies to bring me some pieces of intelligence, such as to know whether I could bring my artillery on the right of their camp, resolving not to attack them on their left, that we might have a better chance to drive them into the Ganges than they should us. I likewise wanted to know in what part of their encampment the force of their artillery lay, and where Shujah Dowlah and Cossim Ally Khan's tent stood:—the spies did not return to camp by twelve o'clock at night. I took it for granted they had been taken prisoners, and therefore resolved to put off the attack till the 24th in the morning. Two of the spies came in by day-light of the morning of the 23d, and told me that the enemy were under arms all night, moving their artillery, and sending off their treasure and women in the night. I went immediately with some officers to look at their disposition; I saw a good many of their troops under arms, but not out of their entrenchments. The officers who were with me, as well as myself, thought they only meant to shew themselves, in order to strike a terror into our troops, never imagining they would quit their lines in order to attack us; and, as I never heard of a black army before attacking a European army, I returned to our camp, wishing they would come out and attack us, for our army was encamped in order of battle. About eight o'clock in the morning, the field officer of the day came into my tent as I was at breakfast, and acquainted me that the enemy's right was in motion, and he was sure they meant to attack us; I immediately went out with my reconnoitring-glass in my hand, and saw and thought as he did; upon which I ordered the drums to beat immediately to arms, which was done, and the troops advanced from their encampment, and were in a few minutes ready to receive them. The action lasted from nine till twelve; the enemy then gave way, went off very slowly, blowing up several tumbrils, and three large magazines of powder, as they went off. I immediately ordered the line to break into columns and pursue; and two miles from the field of battle there was a rivulet, where the enemy had a bridge of boats; they pierced the boats, and sunk them before the rear of the army got over, by which means there was about two thousand of them drowned and sticking in the mud: but that was the best piece of generalship Shujah Dowlah shewed that day, because, if I could have crossed the
rivulet.

rivulet with the army, I would either have taken or drowned his whole army in the Carnassa, and come up with his treasure and jewels, and Cossim Ally Khan's jewels, which I was informed amounted to between two and three millions.

THE English army consisted of little more than four thousand men, not above one thousand were Europeans. The Nabob's army were not less than forty thousand. The killed and wounded in the English army were eight hundred and forty-seven; in the Nabob's, two thousand killed in the field of battle, exclusive of those drowned. The Colonel had not surgeons to dress his own wounded, he could not give the wounded of the enemy any assistance; but he went, for five days together, to give rice and water to such as would take it.

The day after the battle, the Mogul, who was a state-prisoner in Shujah Dowlah's camp, wrote Colonel Monro a letter, giving him joy of the victory, and desiring the Colonel to take him under the protection of the English; and said, if he would do this, he would give the English Shujah Dowlah's country, or any thing else they pleased to demand. And on the Commander's receiving the consent of the Governor and Council of Calcutta, he took the Mogul under protection: the Mogul had left Shujah Dowlah's camp the night before the battle*.

Upon the English army arriving at Banaras, Shujah Dowla sent his Minister with overtures of peace. The Colonel would not listen to them, unless the Nabob would deliver up to him Cossim Ally Khan and Sumro. Cossim had ordered many of the English to be massacred when they were in his power, and Sumro had executed these orders, when no man in the Nabob's army would do it but himself. Sumro was a German, and a General Officer under the Nabob; he had been before a Serjeant in the French service, deserted from them to us, and from us to Cossim Ally Khan. But Shujah Dowlah would not agree to give up to the English either Cossim or Sumro; and the Colonel said, he would not make peace with him, if he would give him all the lacks in his treasury, unless he would deliver up those murderers. Bene Bahadre, the Nabob's Minister, returned again to the English Commander, and said, if he would but make peace with his master Shujah Dowla, he would put the English upon a method of laying

* October 23, 1764.

hold of both Cossim and Sumro. The Colonel would not agree to peace on those terms. Bene Bahadre then desired him to let Captain Stables return with him to the Nabob's camp; the Nabob, he said, wanted to speak with him. Captain Stables understood the country language, and agreed to risque his own life, if he could but be the instrument of bringing Cossim and Sumro to be made public examples of. He went along with the Minister to the camp; and the answer he returned with was, That the Nabob would not give up Cossim by any manner of means, but let him escape; but if the Colonel would send two or three English gentlemen, who knew Sumro, the Nabob would ask him to an entertainment, and in presence of those gentlemen he would order him to be put to death.

THE Nabob, Shujah Dowla, offered Captain Stables a sum of money, to prevail with Colonel Monro to agree to his terms of peace; but, as Colonel Monro says, "I never would do this, the next thing to be considered was, the driving Shujah Dowla intirely out of his country, and the manner of settling it." I wrote to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, and sent them a letter from the Mogul, desiring me to make no peace with Shujah Dowla; that he would cede part of his country to the English Company, and keep the rest himself. The Governor and Council sent me a copy of a treaty to be executed with the King; which took place accordingly. Before Colonel Monro quitted the command of the army, Bulwand Sing, collector of the revenues of the Nabob's country, learning the Colonel had rejected an offer of four lacks of rupees to displace him, came to the Colonel, and begged his acceptance of 80,000 rúpees, which is 10,000*l.*; and, except that, the Colonel solemnly declared he never received a single rupee, for all the time he was in Bengal, near five years, besides the customary presents, which are of small account; and he refused the offer of more than 300,000*l.* at different times, for making alterations in the officers of the government. When Colonel Monro left the army*, Major Carnac was sent by the Governor and Council from Calcutta, to take the command of it; these gentlemen met upon the road, and the Colonel told the Major, had he continued with the army, he would avoid coming to any general action with Shujah Dowla, as they were then in the possession of the greatest part of his country, and his army must of course disperse when his money was out. At this time the Nabob,

* January 6, 1765.

Meer Jaffier Ally Khan, was taken ill at Moorshedabad, and finding his disorder increasing every day, he sent for his second son, (the eldest alive) and growing irrecoverable, he delivered to him a paper of advice, and recommended the Rajah Nundcomer as his Minister, and ordered Mr. Middleton and the other English gentlemen to be sent for, with all the servants of his government; and in their presence, desired orders might be given to all the people, to obey his son Najim Ul Dowla, in every respect, as they did him. He expired the 14th of January, 1765.

IF what this Prince said, when he came out of his palace to surrender himself to the English Commander, was the genuine dictates of his mind, it appears Meer Jaffier possessed sentiments which would afford him no small support under his sufferings:—"I have sworn," said he, "to the English, to be their faithful friend—I will never swerve from my engagements. I will rather suffer death than draw my sword against them, though I have friends enough to hazard at least one battle in my defence;—*but I see no oaths are sacred enough to bind the English.*"

MR. WATTS, who negotiated the treaty with Meer Jaffier in 1757, wrote Colonel Clive, that the Admiral, the Commander of the Company's land forces, and the Committee and Council, were to sign the treaty on their part, affirming in the name of God, and of our Saviour, that they would abide by it. The Committee at Calcutta write the Directors:—"The 19th of May, the treaty being engrossed in the manner Mr. Watts had requested, it was returned to be presented to Meer Jaffier, who, on the 15th of June, in the presence of Mr. Watts, solemnly said—"I swear by God, and the Prophet of God, to abide by the terms of this treaty, whilst I have life."

IN the night of the 19th of October, 1760, the English troops entered the court of his palace, and forced him to resign his government to Cossim, at a time when there was not the least appearance of a rupture or disgust. Thus was Meer Jaffier deposed, in breach of a treaty founded on the most solemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith.

COSSIM ALLY KHAN agreed to give twenty lacks of rupees to the English gentlemen who were to bring about the revolution in his favour, and twenty lacks more for the use of the Company.

WHAT Meer Jaffier gave for his first advancement to the subahship, and his restoration to it, far exceeded the sum stipulated with Cossim. Jaffier obtained the government by an agreement with the English, to betray the
reigning

reigning Nabob, Serajah Dowla, at the battle of Plassey; and by an agreement with the English, he was betrayed by his son-in-law Cossim, and forced from his palace and government. Jaffier shewed a regard to the treaty he had made with the English, and was restored to his dominions; the English broke their engagement, and were severely punished by the loss of those unfortunate gentlemen, who fell victims to the cruelty of Cossim, for whom they violated the public faith.

MEER JAFFIER'S eldest son left a prince, who was only six years old when Meer Jaffier died. The Governor and Council did not choose to take that line of succession, contrary to the appointment of Jaffier in favour of his second son, though some of the gentlemen thought it would be better to have a long minority; but the late Nabob having associated his son in the government, they feared it might have the appearance of another revolution.

THE crimes of which Meer Jaffier was accused—putting several persons to death without reason or justice—on a strict enquiry, were found not to be true; the very persons said to have been murdered by him, were all, except two, found to be living when the matter was examined after his restoration; neither had he broke any of his engagements with the English, to the time they deposed him.

THE President and Council at Calcutta appointed four gentlemen to go up to Muxadaval, in the name of the Company, to wait on Najim Ul Dowla, the son of Jaffier. Two treaties were signed by the Committee, and when the Prince had acceded to them, he was to be proclaimed Nabob. Mr. Middleton acquainted Najim of these gentlemen being on their way, and he sent the Minister recommended to him by his father, to meet them; the gentlemen arrived the next day; and the Nabob, in a letter he afterwards wrote to the Committee at Calcutta, gives the following account of what passed on this occasion:—I was confident that these my friends and well-wishers would have done me the compliments of condolence, and comfort me; but they did not to me the least thing of this kind: instead whereof, they began to incumber me with many troublesome things; and at the same time, they sent out all the people which were present, together with my brother, Nabob Syfud Dowla, and then they told me to send for Mahomed Reza Cawn from Dacca, and set him up as Naib of the Nizamut. This troubled me much; and they told me also, that till Meer Mahomed Reza Cawn arrived from

Dacca, and till he was set up as Naib of the Nizamut, I must not sit in the Dewan Connah ; and that I must live in the same place where I was, and put a stop to all public business.

THE above-named Reza Cawn has had long ago evil intentions: on the Nizamut ; my father, therefore, deemed him always as his enemy ; and besides, there is a large sum of money due from him to the Sircar. For these reasons, I thought proper not to acquiesce to any of the above proposals which were made to me. I told them to peruse the paper of advice of my deceased father, and see how it directs, and which I shall readily follow. In answer to this, they replied, that your paper of advice was of no force or virtue ; and every thing must be done as we think proper.

IN this manner they have vexed me, by sitting almost every day from the first of their arrival to their departure.

THEY presented me with a paper, and requested I would sign it. This paper was that which they brought with them, and insisted on me to comply with their request. I sent for Meer Mahomed Irrick Cawn, Mah Rajah Nundcomer Bahadre, &c. ; they first acquainted the gentlemen, that whatever paper they wanted to be signed, they would have no difficulty in it ; at the same time it was proper for all of them to peruse it first. The gentlemen being much displeased at this, asked, in a very angry manner, who they were that wanted to peruse the paper ? After this, Moonshy Sudoler Oo Dy, who was near my presence, told me to bring the former treaty, and compare that with this, and then to sign it.

AT this, one of the gentlemen turned out the Moonshy ; and they told me, that in case I did not set up Mahomed Reza Cawn in his Naibship, and immediately sign the paper, I should have no great chance of being in the possession of the Subadarry, and then I should be extremely sorry for it. When I saw him pressing me so eagerly, and in an unfriendly manner, I thought proper to sign, and deliver the paper to them, and they carried it away. After this, Mahomed Reza Cawn arrived, and sat as Naib. He, for the better securing his Naibship, took above twenty lacks of rupees (in money and goods) out of my treasury, has distributed them among such people as he thought proper, and this without my knowledge. Besides, there is a balance due from the above-mentioned Cawn, of about twenty lacks of rupees, on account of revenues received by him, of which he does not chuse to pay a single coury. The abovesaid Mahomed Reza Cawn made

one of the gentlemen his protector; and he keeps my seal under his own seal, and there is nothing to be done with my will or order. Titles, employments, kelauts, elephants, horses, and jewels, are granted and distributed to others as he pleases.

MAH RAJAH NUNDCOMER, my intimate well-wisher, when he has occasion to ask any question, they answer him in the negative, and with displeasure. While this man continues in the service, they cannot impose upon me any extraordinary charges. They, for the sake of their own profits, have censured him with an old accusation, which was long ago strictly examined by General Carnac, who acquitted him of it; and now they maliciously accuse him again, and by this means they sent him down to Calcutta with a guard of Sepoys.

THERE is a balance due to the Sircar, from the Jelladars, of fifteen lacks of rupees, and now new employments are granted to them. They have disposed of the present year's rents as they pleased. When I intended going down to Calcutta, I was much distressed for money for paying my servants wages, and other current expences.

THE bad treatment which I have received from one of these gentlemen, after my father's death, and Mahomed Reza Cawn's station, are to me as if I was day and night in a flame; but the news that Lord Clive was coming to this place has relieved me of my anxieties. At last God Almighty was pleased to hasten his Lordship's arrival at this place: this has put into me fresh life and vigour. Now I beg your Lordship, as my protector and sincere friend, to put my affairs, which were ruined by these people, on a proper footing, as they were in my father's time. In doing this, I shall think myself happy.

Gentlemen,

I HAVE wrote my sentiments in the above lines as brief as possible, and beg you will hear my petition.

WHEN the Committee examined into the charges brought against these gentlemen, Jugget Seet, the person to whom they addressed themselves at the Nabob's court, gave the following account:

WHEN the gentlemen of the Council went to Moorsshedabad, and applied themselves to the regulation of the whole Subadarry, they sent me the following message by Mootyram:—Make us some acknowledgment, and we will settle
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all your business according to your heart's desire, otherwise we shall be displeased, and your business meet with no assistance; for you formerly made an acknowledgment to Lord Clive and other gentlemen. I informed them Lord Clive never said a word on this subject, and that I did not give him even a single *daum* *. They sent me a message in answer as follows: You may not be acquainted with it, but your fathers made us acknowledgments; give us five lacks of rupees. I answered, Our fathers never did give Lord Clive a single *daum*. They replied, If you would wish to have your business go freely on, make us some acknowledgment. Being remediless, I consented to give one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees, fifty thousand immediately, and the rest when I could collect in my debts from the country. The gentlemen agreed to this.

ENQUIRY having been made, I Jugger Seet have written these particulars, in which there is by no means a word of untruth.

MOOTYRAM, who was employed by the English deputies to treat with the officers to be placed about the Nabob, afterwards gave the following evidence to the Committee at Calcutta.

Ques. What message did you carry from the gentlemen to Reza Cawn?

Ans. I was ordered to ask for presents.

Ques. Did one gentleman send you in his own name, or in that of the deputation?

Ans. In all their names

Ques. What answer had you from Reza Cawn?

Ans. He first said, Very well, I'll try what I can do; but afterwards he said, It was very improper to ask money of the Seets; it will get me a bad name.

Ques. What did you say about stopping their business, unless they complied with the demand?

Ans. I did tell him, that the gentleman would protect their business, if they would make a present; if not, the business of the Seets would meet with no protection or countenance. Jugger Seet said, If the gentlemen will be satisfied with rings, jewels, and such presents, to the value of twenty-five thousand rupees, I will comply; but on his being pressed farther, he agreed

* A small piece of money.

to give fifty thousand, which was not accepted. They at length, in about twenty days, consented to give one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees. The money was sent in a packerree, at which the gentlemen were very angry, and said, Why was it not given to Mootyram, or sent more privately.

Ques. To what amount of the Nabob's money came through your hands to the deputies?

Ans. One of the gentlemen received through my hands 237,500 rupees, another 50,000, but what was paid to the other gentlemen I know not, their own servants transacted that business for them.

In February 1765, Najim was proclaimed at his capital, Muxadavad; and while the deputies were there, the rest of the Council received advice from England, of Lord Clive's coming out with extraordinary powers from the Company.

C H A P. XII.

Lord Clive's appointment to the government of Bengal—His arrival in India—His letter to Mr. Rous from Madras, 17 April 1765. The members of the Select Committee, appointed by the Company, take upon them the management of all public business, the 7th May 1765—Their proceedings—Their letter to General Carnac—Their enquiry into the Nabob's charge against the Gentlemen sent to him on the death of Meer Jaffier. Shujah Dowla's army is routed by the army under General Carnac, the 3d May 1765. Shujah Dowla's letter to the General, and the answer. Shujah Dowla surrenders himself to General Carnac. His letter to Lord Clive, and the Committee, and their answer. General Carnac's first interview with the King. The Committee's orders to General Carnac, to resign the command of the army to Lord Clive; and the General's appointment, with Lord Clive, to negotiate with Shujah and the country powers. Lord Clive and General Carnac's advices to the Committee, after this interview with Shujah Dowla and the King. The terms agreed on, and treaties signed. Lord Clive and General Carnac return to Calcutta. Lord Clive's account of their proceedings to the Court of Directors, 30th September 1765; and the account of the sums received as presents, as restitution to the Company and their servants, for their losses and expences in the different wars, and in the revenues of the country, to the year 1771. Society of trade established.

ON the 2d of May, 1764, Lord Clive then in England, was sworn in President and Governor of Bengal, and Commander in Chief of the forces there; and Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes, then also in England, were appointed Counsellors at that Presidency; Mr. Sumner to succeed to the government; and Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, Major Carnac, Mr. Verelst, and Mr. Sykes were appointed by the Directors a Select Committee, with power to manage all the affairs of the Company in Bengal. Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, and Mr. Sykes sailed from England the 4th of June, 1764, and they arrived at Madras the 10th of April 1765; and of the 17th of that month, Lord Clive wrote the following letter to Thomas Rous, Esq; then at the head of the Company in England:

DEAR

Lord Clive's Letter to Mr. Rous from MADRASS, April 17th, 1765.

Dear Sir,

WE arrived at this place the 10th instant, and shall proceed to Bengal next Saturday. I must now enter with you into the politics of India. The particulars of our late success, and now very flourishing condition of the Company's affairs in Indostan, you will have been informed of at large before this reaches you. *We have at last arrived at that critical period which I have long foreseen; I mean, that period which renders it necessary for us to determine, whether we can or shall take the whole to ourselves.* Shujah Dowla is beat from his dominion; we are in possession of it; and it is scarcely hyperbole to say—to-morrow the whole Mogul empire will be in our power. *A large army of Europeans will effectually preserve us sovereigns. You will, I am sure, imagine with me, that after the length we have run, the Princes of Indostan must conclude our views to be boundless; they have seen such instances of our ambition, that they cannot suppose us capable of moderation.* The very Nabobs whom we might support, would be either covetous of our possessions, or jealous of our power; ambition, fear, avarice, would be daily watching to destroy us; a victory would be but a temporary relief to us, for the dethroning of the first Nabob would be followed by the setting up of another. We must, indeed, become Nabobs ourselves in fact, if not in name, perhaps totally so without disguise. But on this subject I cannot be certain, until my arrival at Bengal. Let us, and without delay, complete our three European regiments to a thousand men each; these, with five hundred light cavalry, three or four regiments of artillery, and the forces of the country, will certainly render us invincible. In short, if riches and security are the objects of the Company, this is the method, the only method now for securing them.

THE 3d of May, 1765, Lord Clive arrived in Bengal, and being accompanied to Calcutta by a deputation, took charge of the government. On the 5th of May, his Lordship assembled the Council at Fort William, when the Company's instructions were read, and the gentlemen appointed to form a select Committee, to assist Lord Clive in restoring peace to the Company's affairs, were admitted at the Board; and on the 7th of May, the Committee met for the dispatch of business. Each member took an oath not to

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reveal,

reveal, to any person whatever, any of the proceedings of the Committee, before the same were laid before the Council, or till the Committee was dissolved; and they administered the same oath to their Secretary and his assistant.

LORD CLIVE then informed the Committee, he little imagined, when he resigned the government of Bengal, five years ago, that he should ever enter upon it again; but the late distracted state of affairs in India, had alarmed the proprietors of stock, and at one of their most numerous General Courts, he was unanimously desired to resume the government of Bengal. "The success of the forces which I had the honour to command in the year 1757, completed a revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier, an event on which the existence of the East-India Company at that time depended. The treaty concluded with him, was productive of large advantages to the nation as well as to individuals, and seemed to insure the Company greater benefits than they had ever before enjoyed.

"My successors, soon after my departure, thought proper to raise Cossim Ally Khan to the subahship; the consequences of which, whatever was the cause, have been unfortunate.

"A VERY few days are elapsed since our arrival; and yet, if we consider what has already come to our knowledge, we cannot hesitate a moment upon the necessity of assuming the power that is in us, of conducting, as a select Committee, the affairs, both civil and military, of this settlement. What do we hear of, what do we see, but anarchy, confusion, and, what is worse, an almost general corruption? It is absolutely indispensable, for the speedy settlement of the Company's affairs, that the power should be lodged in the hands of a few, or the designs of the Proprietors, in soliciting me to accept the government, will be baffled and delayed, if not totally eluded, by their servants.

"To establish a country government, to secure the commercial interest, and to perpetuate the revenues of the Company; to reform the military, and to amend the civil departments—these will be the objects of our serious attention. By this Committee I shall hope to see these important matters completely regulated, before I resign the government; and you know, that my intention is to remain in it no longer than my assistance may be thought necessary towards accomplishing these great and salutary purposes."

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The Committee write the following Letter :

To Brigadier General John Carnac, Commander in Chief of the Army.

Sir,

Fort William, May 7, 1765.

AGREEABLE to the instructions of the honourable Company, we have this day assumed the powers of a Select Committee, with which we are invested. And we send you, as a member of this Committee, a copy of the Company's instructions, and of the oath we have taken ; which we desire you to receive from the Company's servant upon the spot, in order that our correspondence may be without reserve. The necessary measures you are to pursue, we submit to your discretion.

AT this time the Nabob Najim Ul Dowla came to Calcutta, and addressed the Committee on the subject of the presents obtained from him and his Ministers, on his accession.

THE Committee make this minute on that business, the 11th of May.

" THE facts advanced by the Nabob, and other circumstances which have this day appeared to the Committee, being maturely weighed and considered, the Committee are of opinion, that Mahomed Reza Cawn, since the death of the late Nabob, has distributed among certain persons near twenty lacks of rupees*."

THE Committee receive letters from General Carnac, of the 30th of April, That, in consequence of advice that Shujah Dowla, with Caz Dyn Cawn, was on his way to Korah, to join Mulhar, who was there with the Morattoes, he had crossed the Ganges. That Captain Graham had a smart skirmish with a disaffected Zemindar, wherein the latter, with a considerable number of men, was killed ; and that we had sustained a material loss in one Tarbeg, a leader of our few Persian horse, who died of his wounds.

THE 2d of May, the General writes, if the enemy did not fall back, the Committee might soon expect to hear of a battle. The day following they did engage, and the General routed the enemy. The 5th of May, he received

* A lack of rupees is £.12,500. Twenty lacks is £.250,000.

intelligence that Shujah Dowla, and the Morattoes, had separated. And the 19th of May, General Carnac received the following Letter from Shujah Dowla :

IT is known all over the world, that the illustrious chiefs of the English nation are constant and unchangeable in their friendship, which my heart is fully persuaded of. The late disturbances were contrary to my inclinations ; but it was so ordered by Providence. I now see things in a proper light, and have a strong desire to come to you ; and I am persuaded you will treat me in a manner befitting your own honour. You have shewn great favour to others : when you become acquainted with me, you will see with your own eyes, and be thoroughly sensible of my attachment, from which I will never depart while I have life. I am this day, the 26th of the moon, arrived at Belgram. Please God, in a very short time I shall have the happiness of meeting with you. As for other particulars, I refer you to Monyro-Dowla.

With his own hand.

“ My friend,

“ I REGARD not wealth, nor government of countries ; your favour and
“ friendship is all I desire. Please God, I will be with you very soon, when
“ you will do for me what you think best.”

General Carnac's answer, the 24th of May, 1765.

IHAVE been favoured with your letter, in which were some lines written with your own hand, declaring your intentions of coming to me ; that you was arrived at Belgram, and expect such a reception as becomes a brave man to give ; and that I will be sensible of the warmth and sincerity of your friendship, after we become acquainted ; and that you do not look for country nor wealth, but the friendship of the English nation ; and that please God, you will be very soon with me.

THE receipt of this letter gave me great pleasure ; you was before unacquainted with our customs and dispositions ; thanks be to God ! that you
are

are now become sensible of the justice and upright intentions of the English. Now that you are pleased to come to me in a friendly manner, you may depend on the best reception in my power, suitable to our customs; and I will not be deficient in forwarding whatever is reasonable for your interest; and when your Excellency shall shew a real attachment to the English, their friendship towards you in return will be made manifest to the whole world. You may, with perfect confidence, come here as to your own house, and to those that wish your welfare. Further particulars you will learn from Monyro-Dowlah.

General Carnac's Letter to the Committee, May 24, 1765.

I ARRIVED here yesterday, having left the army to follow in two divisions, by easy marches; the first division I expect in to-morrow. I acquainted the Board, the 22d, with the reasons of my being in such a hurry to return, viz. on occasion of a letter from Shujah Dowla; the copy of the original, a translation thereof, and the substance of my answer, your Lordship, &c. will receive herewith.

IF we can make a friend of Shujah Dowla, which I really believe we may, provided we use with moderation our success, and do not urge him to despair, I am firmly of opinion that he, from the extreme regard in which he is held throughout the country, even in his present distress, will prove a much better security to our frontiers, than any one we can put in these dominions in his room.

From the Camp at Jajaman
on the Banks of the Ganges,
May 27, 1765.

To

To the Right Honourable Lord Clive, President, and Gentlemen of the Select Committee.

My Lord and Gentlemen,

HEARING that Shujah Dowla was drawing near, I sent Captain Swinton, with Rajah Shittabroy, to meet him; he arrived in the evening on the opposite side of the river, and immediately crossed it, with his brother-in-law, Salar-Jung, and a very few followers, in order to wait upon me. I received him with all possible marks of distinction, at which he expressed much satisfaction. He appears, however, a good deal dejected at his present condition, which must bear very hard upon him; and he must find himself without resource; for being, as he undoubtedly is, the most considerable man in the empire, and of an uncommonly high spirit, he would not have submitted to such a condescension. It will, in my opinion, greatly add to the English name throughout the country, our behaving with generosity towards a person who has all along bore a high reputation in Hindostan.

Jajaman,

May 27, 1765.

John Carnac.

General Carnac's Letter to the Right Honourable Lord Clive, President, and the Gentlemen of the Select Committee.

MY last address was dated the 27th ultimo, advising you of Shujah Dowla's being come in to me, since which I have not troubled you, having nothing material to communicate. I have deferred coming to any absolute agreement till I have seen the King, and know his pleasure. He has left Illahabad, and has got to Manipur on his way hither; but as the rains are so near setting in, I think it most adviseable to save him that trouble, and that we should move towards him. I am accordingly crossing our troops over the Ganges as speedily as possible, for that purpose; and in the interim, that no time may be lost, we are proceeding on the trials of the several gentlemen

gentlemen in arrest. I have undertaken so far as to give Shujah Dowla hopes of the Subah of Aud, being assured that his Majesty will gladly deliver it to him, as the only means to secure tranquillity to the country; and that it cannot be made over to any other, who will be able to maintain it longer than while our army remains. I have intimated to him, that some indemnification will be expected by us from him, for the immense expence in which he involved us, and shall strenuously insist thereon; and I flatter myself of succeeding, though he pleads poverty, and has solemnly asserted to me, in the name of God and his Prophet, that he has not two lacks of rupees: should you be of opinion with me, that the Zamindary of Benaras, &c. is at too great a distance to be worth our keeping, this may also be hereafter ceded to him, in consideration of a sum of money in exchange for the same. Major Stibbert, whom I detached towards the frontier on this side of Lucknow, has been very active and diligent, and has entirely removed the disaffected parties that still remained in that neighbourhood. By means of a forced march, he fell in with, on the morning of the 2d instant, one Mungul Chun, a Jematdar, who had been particularly troublesome. After a short skirmish, the enemy were put to the rout. Mungul Chan himself, with several of his people, were killed; and a parcel of country guns, which they had with them, all taken. I have been reduced to the necessity of forcing some other forts near our camp; and as we lost a volunteer and a few men on the occasion, the ill-fated defendants have paid the forfeit of their lives for their obduracy.

I HAVE discovered a most flagrant fraud in the muster of the quarter-masters belonging to the Bombay detachment. Finding that their number greatly exceeded what their quantity of stores required, I examined the quarter master's banian; who acknowledged his having taken from the Bazar upwards of three hundred men to stand the muster. I immediately confined the acting quarter-master, the established one being sick at Allahabad; and you may be assured I will use every endeavour to trace the fraud to its source, that an exemplary punishment may be inflicted on those capable of so shameful an imposition.

Camp at Nagapur,
the 17th of June, 1765.

I have the honour to be, &c.

John Carnac.

The

The Committee's Answer:

YOUR letters of the 26th and 27th ultimo afford us great pleasure; the intelligence they convey is important, and the sentiments you express generous, and such as we are determined to adopt. We join with you in opinion, that every appearance of insult and violence, to a person of Shujah Dowla's character, ought to be carefully avoided in the terms we demand.

AMONG men of honour and sentiment, a peace can only be permanent where the advantages are reciprocal.

LORD CLIVE, who proposes to set out for the army in four or five days, will be empowered, in conjunction with you, to settle every thing, in whatever manner shall appear most conducive to the great object we have in view—that of immediately restoring the public tranquillity, and establishing peace on a lasting and solid foundation. The honourable reception you propose giving the Vizier, will put him into such good-humour with the English, that he probably may be prevailed on to shorten Lord Clive's journey, and meet his Lordship at Benaras, or even at Patna.

IN the mean time, the settling preliminary articles, and adjusting a plan of pacification with him, will greatly facilitate matters; but you must come to no final determination until his Lordship's arrival.

THE points we would chiefly recommend to your regard, in sketching these preliminaries, are, that Bulwant Sing be pardoned, and secured in the possession of his country, on the same terms as when he was under the government of Shujah Dowla; that Nudjuff Cawn be also restored to the possession of Korea, his country; and that all others, who have joined, or afforded assistance to the English, meet with equal favour and encouragement. The King's honour must be consulted, and his safety and subsistence secured, wherever he chuses to reside. Cossim Ally and Sumroo we would be glad to have delivered into our hands, if Shujah Dowla will do it voluntarily, *or else put to death by himself*; but if neither can be effected without disgusting him, and thereby endangering the stability of the peace, it must be left to his own honour. In short, we would rather bind them to us by the ties of gratitude than by force and compulsion.

IN money affairs we must appear generous and disinterested; and if you stipulate for any sums to be paid, they ought to be on account of the Company, who have some claim to an indemnification, and whose interest ought to be our principal object. In other particulars, we rely on your own discretion and approved zeal for the good of the service; being, with great esteem,

Fort William, Sir, &c.
the 10th of June, 1765.

P. S. We would further recommend, that you stipulate with Shujah Dowla for the establishment of factories, and an entire liberty of trade in every part of his dominions; but we mean not to support this privilege by any military force, nor to introduce troops or garrisons into his country.

General Carnac writes the Committee again, the 19th of June,

I JUDGED it most adviseable to make the best of my way to the King, who chose to halt at Manipur, and there wait for me. I arrived here yesterday, and immediately waited upon his Majesty, who expressed much satisfaction at Shujah Dowla's being come in. I am to present Shujah Dowla to him to-morrow, and I wait with the greatest impatience to know how far you are willing to favour Shujah Dowla.

To General Carnac.

Sir,

PURSUANT to our advices transmitted to you the 20th, Lord Clive left this place the 25th ultimo, proposing to stop a day or two at Moorshedabad, and then to proceed with all possible dispatch to the army, of which you will resign the command to his Lordship immediately on his arrival.

WE have vested his Lordship, in conjunction with you, with full powers to negotiate with Shujah Dowla and the country powers; and you will perceive, from the tenour of our instructions, that our great aim is to obtain a lasting and honourable peace, to revive our languishing commerce, *to impress the natives with a sense of our justice and moderation*, and to reduce those heavy military charges, which have hitherto rendered our extraordinary successes, and even the cession of rich provinces, fruitless to the Company.

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THE

THE 3d of August 1765, Lord Clive and General Carnac write the Select Committee, that the day before they had a conference with Shujah Dowla, when he offered to pay fifty lacks to the Company for indemnification for the charges incurred by the war.

As to the surrender of Cossim Aly Cawn, Sumro, and the deserters, it was out of his power; that Cossim had sought shelter in the Rohillah country, and Sumro had placed himself under the protection of the Jauts, where he was screened both from Shujah Dowla and us.

THE 11th of August Lord Clive and the General paid a visit to the King on business; his Majesty delivered his demands to Lord Clive in the Persian language. The King was then requested to grant to the Company the Dewannee of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa: His Majesty signed the fiat, and gave them that revenue for ever. The 16th of August, the treaty between Shujah Dowla and the Company was concluded, to which the King also set his seal.

THE 19th, an instrument was executed to the King, in the name of the Nabob Najim-ul-Dowla, for a yearly tribute of twenty-six lacks of rupees to be paid into the royal treasury, for his holding the Subahship of Bengal.

THE Company became guarantees for their Nabob, and agreed with him for an annual sum for the expences of his household, that he might have no occasion to interfere in collecting the revenues of the provinces to be governed in his name.

THE King then signed a firmaun, for the payment of Lord Clive's jagheer for ten years, with reversion to the Company. General Carnac having declined accepting any present from the King, his Majesty wrote a letter to the Committee, desiring the General might be permitted to receive two lacks as a testimony of his favour.

LORD Clive and General Carnac returned to Calcutta, and the 7th of September the Committee express their high approbation of the measures they had pursued to stop the effusion of human blood, and for obtaining so extraordinary an acquisition of revenue and influence to the Company.

THE 30th of September, Lord Clive gave the Court of Directors this account of their success:

“YOUR

“YOUR revenues, by means of this new acquisition, will, as near as I can judge, not fall far short, for the ensuing year, of 250 lacks *. Hereafter they will at least amount to 20 or 30 lacks more. The Nabob’s allowances are reduced to 42 lacks, and the tribute to the King is fixed at 26; and your civil and military expences, in time of peace, can never exceed 60 lacks: so that there will be remaining a clear gain to the Company of 122 lacks, or one million six hundred and fifty thousand nine hundred pounds sterling a year.

“WHAT I have given you is a real, not an imaginary state of your revenues, and you may be sure they will not fall short of my computation.

“THE assistance which the Great Mogul had received from your arms and treasury made him readily bestow this grant upon the Company, and it is done in the most effectual manner you can desire.

“The allowance for the support of the Nabob’s dignity and power, and the tribute to his Majesty, must be regularly paid; the remainder belongs to the Company.

“Revolutions are now no longer to be apprehended; the means of effecting them will in future be wanting to ambitious Mussulmen; nor will your servants, civil or military, be tempted to foment disturbances, from whence can arise no benefit to themselves.—Restitution, donation money, &c. &c. will be perfectly abolished, as the revenues, from whence they used to issue, will be possessed by ourselves.

“THE power of supervising the provinces, though lodged in us, should not, however, in my opinion, be exerted. If we leave the management to the old officers of the government, the Company need not be at the expence of one additional servant; and though we may suffer in the collection, yet we shall always be able to detect and punish any great offenders, and shall have the satisfaction in knowing that the corruption is not among ourselves. By this means, also, the abuses inevitably springing from the exercise of territorial authority, will be effectually obviated; there will still be a Nabob, with an allowance suitable to his dignity, and the territorial jurisdiction will still be in the Chiefs of the country, acting under him and the Presidency in conjunction, though the revenues will belong to the Company.

* £. 3,125,000.

“OUR restoring to Shujah Dowla the whole of his dominions, proceeds more from the policy of not extending the Company’s territorial possessions, than the generous principle of attaching him for ever to our interest by gratitude, though this has been the apparent, and is by many thought to be the real motive. Had we ambitiously attempted to retain the conquered country, experience would soon have proved the impracticability of such a plan. The establishment of your army must have been added to your list, and more chiefships appointed. Acts of oppression, and innumerable abuses, would have been committed; and, at such a distance from the Presidency, could neither have been prevented nor remedied, and must infallibly have laid the foundation of another war. Our old privileges and possessions would have been endangered by every supply we might have been tempted to afford in support of the new; and the natives must have finally triumphed in our inability to sustain the weight of our own ambition.

“CONSIDERING the excesses we have of late years manifested in our conduct, the princes of Indostan will not readily imagine us capable of moderation, nor can we expect they will ever be attached to us by any other motive than fear. No opportunity will ever be neglected, that seems to favour an attempt to extirpate us; though the consequences, while we keep our army complete, must in the end be more fatal to themselves. Even our young Nabob, if left to himself, and a few of his artful flatterers, would pursue the paths of his predecessors. It is therefore impossible to trust him with power, and be safe. If you mean to maintain your present possessions and advantages, the command of the army, and the receipt of the revenue, must be kept in your own hands.

“If you allow the Nabob to have forces, he will soon raise money; if you allow him a full treasury without forces, he will certainly make use of it to invite the Morattoes, or other powers, to invade the country, upon a supposition that we shall not suspect the part he takes, and that success will restore him to the full extent of his sovereignty.

“THE regulation of the Nabob’s ministry, the acquisition of the Dewannee, and the honourable terms on which we have conducted a peace with the Vizir of the empire, have placed the dignity and advantages of the English East India Company on a basis more firm than our most sanguine wishes could a few months ago have suggested.

“THESE, however, alone, will not ensure your stability; these are but the outworks which guard you from your natural enemies, the natives of the country: all is not safe; danger still subsists from more formidable enemies within—luxury, corruption, avarice, and rapacity: these must be extirpated, or they will destroy us; for we cannot expect the same causes which have ruined the greatest kingdoms, shall have different effects on such a state as ours.”

The following is an account of such sums as have been proved or acknowledged, before the Committee of the House of Commons, to have been distributed by the Princes, and other natives of Bengal, from the year 1757 to the year 1766, both inclusive; distinguishing the principal times of the said distributions, and specifying the sums received by each person respectively.

Revolution in favour of Meer Jaffier, 1757.

				£.
Mr. Drake (Governor)	—	—	—	31,500
Colonel Clive	—	—	—	234,000
Mr. Watts	—	—	—	117,000
Major Kilpatrick	—	—	—	27,000
Ditto, as a private donation	—	—	—	33,750
Mr. Manningham	—	—	—	27,000
Mr. Beecher	—	—	—	27,000
Six Members of Council, one lack each				68,200
Mr. Welsh	—	—	—	56,250
Mr. Scrafton	—	—	—	22,500
Mr. Lushington,	—	—	—	5,625
Captain Grant	—	—	—	11,250
Stipulation to the Navy and Army	—			600,000
				<hr/>
				£. 1,261,075

MEMORANDUM,

	Brought on	—	—	—	£.
					1,261,075
MEMORANDUM.—The sum of two lacks for Lord Clive, as Commander in Chief, must be deducted from this account, it being included in the donation to the army.					
		—	—	—	22,500
					<hr/>
					1,238,575
Paid as restitution for losses and expences to the Company, their servants, and other Europeans		—			1,800,000

Revolution in favour of Coffin, 1760.

				£.
Mr. Sumner	—	—	—	28,000
Mr. Holwell	—	—	—	30,937
Mr. M ^c Guire	—	—	—	20,625
Mr. Smith	—	—	—	15,354
Major York	—	—	—	15,354
General Caillaud	—	—	—	22,916
M. Vanfittart	—	—	—	58,333
Mr. M ^c Guire, 5000 gold Mohrs	—			8,750
				<hr/>
				200,269
As Restitution	—	—	—	62,500

Revolution in favour of Jaffier, 1763.

Stipulation to the army	—	—	—	291,666
Ditto to the navy	—	—	—	145,833
				<hr/>
				437,499
Restitution	—	—	—	975,000
Major Munro, in 1764, received from				
Bulwant Sing	—	—	—	10,000
Ditto from the Nabob	—	—	—	3,000
				<hr/>
				13,000
				<hr/>
				4,713,843

The

SHUJAH DOWLA CONTINUED.

271

	£.	£.
Brought on	13,000	4,713,843
The officers belonging to Major Munro's family from ditto — — —	3,000	
The army received from the Merchants at Banaras — — —	<u>46,666</u>	62,666

Nudjum ul Dowla's accession, 1765.

Mr. Spencer — — —	22,333	
Messrs. Playdell, Burdett, and Gray —	35,000	
Mr. Johnstone — — —	27,650	
Mr. Leycester — — —	13,125	
Mr. Senior — — —	20,125	
Mr. Middleton — — —	14,291	
Mr. Gideon Johnstone — —	<u>5,833</u>	139,357
General Carnac received from Bulwant Sing, in 1765 — — —	9,333	
Ditto from the King — — —	23,333	
Lord Clive received from the Begum Queen, 1766 — — —	<u>58,333</u>	90,999

Peace with Shujah Dowla.

East India Company — — — — —	<u>583,333</u>	
		<u>£. 5,590,198</u>

NET AMOUNT OF TERRITORIAL REVENUES
LATELY OBTAINED.

May	to	April	£.
1761	—	1762	677,832
1762	—	1763	635,199
1763	—	1764	631,416
1764	—	1765	606,132
1765	—	1766	1,681,427
1766	—	1767	2,550,094
1767	—	1768	2,451,255
1768	—	1769	2,402,191
1769	—	1770	2,118,294
1770	—	1771	2,009,988
			<hr/>
			£. 15,763,828

Received on several accounts; viz. of the Nabobs, &c. for restitution, towards the military expences, deposits, &c. &c.

May	to	April	£.
1761	—	1762	217,080
1762	—	1763	15,144
1763	—	1764	194,598
1764	—	1765	633,163
1765	—	1766	371,566
1766	—	1767	53,211
1767	—	1768	113,930
1768	—	1769	45,610
1769	—	1770	19,068
1770	—	1771	23,236
			<hr/>
			£. 1,686,606
			<hr/>
			£. 17,450,434
			Brought

SUMS RECEIVED BY THE INDIA COMPANY, &c. 273

Brought on £. 17,450,434

Other revenues received. Net amount of territorial revenues lately obtained.

May	to	April	£.
1761	—	1762	89,568
1762	—	1763	164,892
1763	—	1764	121,053
1764	—	1765	143,755
1765	—	1766	180,875
1766	—	1767	314,261
1767	—	1768	267,495
1768	—	1769	307,764
1769	—	1770	448,045
1770	—	1771	518,925
			<u>£. 2,556,633</u>

Received on several accounts, viz. of the Nabob, towards the military expences, stores, deposits, &c.

May	to	April	£.
1761	—	1762	390,547
1762	—	1763	467,902
1763	—	1764	402,111
1764	—	1765	461,439
1765	—	1766	415,132
1766	—	1767	241,029
1767	—	1768	146,531
1768	—	1769	260,951
1769	—	1770	688,686
1770	—	1771	216,256
			<u>£. 3,690,684</u>
			£. 23,697,751
N n			Net

Brought on

£. 23,697,751

Net amount of territorial revenues lately obtained.

August to	July	£.
1761	— 1762	17,842
1762	— 1763	17,441
1763	— 1764	16,160
1764	— 1765	17,150
1765	— 1766	17,347
1766	— 1767	17,641
1767	— 1768	17,061
1768	— 1769	16,739
1769	— 1770	13,613
1770	— 1771	18,927
		<hr/>
		£. 169,921

*Amount received on account of deposits, by the Accountant
General of the Mayor's Court.*

August to	July	£.
1761	— 1762	3,090
1762	— 1763	5,074
1763	— 1764	1,125
1764	— 1765	87
1765	— 1766	<hr/>
1766	— 1767	5,527
1767	— 1768	266
1768	— 1769	<hr/>
1769	— 1770	<hr/>
1770	— 1771	9,874
		<hr/>
		£. 25,043
		<hr/>
		£. 23,892,715

Total,

Total, proved or acknowledged.

2,169,365 As Presents.
 3,420,833 As Restitution.
 5,402,333 For our military charges.
 18,490,382 Revenues clear of expences,

29,482,913 Pounds—Received from 1757 to 1771.

On an average, two millions, one hundred thousand pounds and upwards in each year.

On the 3d of September, 1765, the President laid before the Committee the following minute, for the establishment of a society of trade.

THE Company's duties, I beg leave to propose, shall be increased; the servants shall receive a reasonable share of emolument; and the terms upon which the natives are finally to be concerned, advantageously fixed.

I propose,

1st. THAT all salt provided by the society of trade, shall be sold at Calcutta, and at other places where it is made, and no where else.

2d. THAT the price of salt shall not exceed two rupees per maund, or 200 rupees per 100 maunds.

3d. THAT the salt shall be sold to the natives only, who are to transport it to every part of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, and to have the whole profits arising from the sale thereof; and that no Company's servant, free merchant, or European, shall be concerned in that article, directly or indirectly, after the sale of it at the above places.

4th. THAT the Calcutta black merchants shall be limited to a certain proportion of purchase; but that no Banyans, or servant whatever, belonging to any European, shall be included, or have any concern therein.

5th. THAT every endeavour be made use of to encourage the substantial merchants of the country, either to come down in person to the place where

the salt is provided, or to send their agents, in order to purchase and transport the salt to the different places of sale.

6th. THAT a certain price be fixed for the sale of every maund of salt, at every town, market, or village, where it is sold, according to the distance and former custom.

7th. THAT if salt be sold, at any of the bazars or markets, for one coury above the stipulated price, the vender shall not only forfeit all the salt there found in his possession, but be liable to a forfeit of 1000 rupees for every hundred maunds of salt so sold; and the salt and money forfeited shall go one half to the government.

8th. THAT the ministers at Muxadabad and Patna have copies sent them of these new regulations; and that they be desired to apply to the Nabob, to make the same known throughout the three provinces; and that every Phouzdar, &c. see they be put in execution, upon pain of being dismissed from his employment.

9th. THIS business being entirely commercial, I propose, that in the instrument of agreement for the next year it shall be provided, That the society of trade be answerable to the board for their conduct; that the board may either make new regulations, or amend those made by the society of trade, as they see fit; and that, in case of necessity, the select Committee shall have power to controul the conduct of the whole.

10th. THAT a duty of 50 per cent. be paid to the Company, upon all the salt provided in their own lands; and 50 per cent. to the government, upon all the salt provided upon the lands of the government; and 15 per cent. upon beetle: which duties will, in fact, be brought to the Company's credit; which, according to the present state of the salt trade, will produce the Company from 12 * to 13 lacks of rupees per annum.

THE prohibition of a free inland trade, however disagreeable to individuals, must now take place, and be confined to imports and exports, and to their immediate returns, which returns shall be made only to the Presidency, or to one or other of the established factories. The Company are sovereigns in India; and they have declared, that the trade carried on for these four years past is an usurpation, not only of their prerogative, but of the privileges of

* 12 lacks are 150,000l.

the natives, and repugnant to the express and repeated orders of the Court of Directors. The indulgence however in the trade of salt, upon the footing I hope it will now be established, should, in my opinion, obviate all complaints, since it seems to be the most equitable modus between the Company and their servants, and, at the same time, a distribution of natural right to the people of the country. Considering that the late great advantages of unlimited trade are cut off, I cannot imagine that the Court of Directors will deny their servants this share of benefit, as a recompence for their attention and assistance in the management of the important concerns of these provinces. On the other hand, I would have the servants look upon these emoluments as a gift from the hands of their employers, offered to them annually in reward of their fidelity, and which will certainly be withheld from them, if ever this authority should be resisted, and discontent and rapacity take place of gratitude and moderation.

C L I V E.

HIS Lordship's minute having been read, and maturely considered, the regulations therein specified, are unanimously approved.

AGREED, therefore, That the President's regulations for the inland trade be laid before the Council with all convenient speed, for their approbation, in order that the necessary instructions for prosecuting the joint concern, for the ensuing season, may be immediately issued to the Committee of trade.

RESOLVED, That the above concern shall consist of sixty shares; and that the proprietors shall stand inrolled, with the several proportions affixed to their names, in the manner ascertained in the following statement.

Statement of the joint Salt concern, for the year 1766.

W. B. Summer, 3. John Carnac, 3. Charles Stafford Playdell, 2. Harry Verelst, 2. John Cartier, 2. Francis Sykes, 2. Randolph Marriott, 2. Hugh Watts, 2. Samuel Middleton, 2. Claud Ruffel, 2. William Aldersey, 2. Thomas Kelfall, 2. Charles Floyer, 2. Colonel Richard Smith, 2. Sir Robert Barker, 2.

In all 32.

Second

Second Class.

Reverend W. Parry and Bloner, jointly, Charlton, French, 2. Reed, Hare, Jekyll, 2. Wood, Rogers, Shewin, 2. Williamson, Dacres, Lane, 2. Barwell, Woodward, Harris, 2. Skinner, Lawrell, Goodwin, 2. Campbell, Sir Robert Fletcher, Peach, 2. Chapman $\frac{2}{3}$.

In all	<u>14 $\frac{2}{3}$</u>
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Third Class.

Wilkins, Forbes, Graham, Hewitt, Lambert, Vanfittart, 2. Cafe, Grueber, Plaisted, Taylor, Ellis, Hunter, 2. Davidson, Stibbert, Champion, Grant, Winwood, Pemple, 2. Smith, Galliez, Anderson, Robert Hunter, William Bathoe, 2. Witts, Barber, Watfon 1.

In all	<u>9</u>
Shares unappropriated	<u>4 $\frac{1}{3}$</u>

Total 60 Shares.

It appearing, from the above division of capital stock, that four shares and one-third remain unappropriated ;

AGREED, The same be accounted for at a proper time.

A SHORT

A SHORT VIEW OF THE EVIDENCE OF OUR
CONDUCT IN INDIA.

THE substance of the evidence appears to be this—The provinces of Bengal, Banar, and Orissa, were in the year 1757 in a state of great fertility and plenty as any country in Europe; and inhabited by about fifteen millions of people, under the government of a prince called Serajah Dowla, who had lately succeeded his grandfather, Ally Verd Cawn, from whom, it appears, he received this advice.—“The power of the English is great; suffer them not, my son, to have factories or soldiers; if you do, the country is not yours.”

SERAJAH DOWLA required the Company’s servants not to proceed in some works of strength, at their factory at Calcutta; and, not being satisfied with the answers he received, he led an army against the place, took it, and the night he entered the fort, many of the English were driven into a place which bore no proportion to their numbers, for out of 146, twenty-three only remained alive the next morning, and some of these were afterwards treated with considerable severity.

ON the arrival of a sufficient force, war was begun against Serajah Dowla; but before they took the field, a treaty was made with Meer Jaffier, one of the first subjects of this prince, and a general in his army: the substance of the treaty was, that Jaffier should betray his master: he did so, and immediately after the defeat of Serajah Dowla on the plains of Plassey, the 23d of June, 1757, Meer Jaffier was placed in the government, by the Commander of the English army, and the sum of 1,238,575 pounds appears to have been paid by Jaffier out of his Master’s treasury, to the servants of the Company, for themselves, the army and navy with which they were assisted; and the sum of 1,800,000 pounds as restitution to the Company, their servants, and other Europeans, for losses during the war.

IN the year 1760, Meer Jaffier was deposed in favour of Cossim Ally Cawn, a general in Jaffier’s army; from whom the Company’s servants received 200,269 pounds, and 62,500 pounds as restitution. Cossim appearing to have designs of rendering himself independent, war was begun

against him, at the breaking out of which, he put to death near three hundred persons, chiefly English. He was soon obliged to retire, with his army, into the dominions of Shujah Dowla, a neighbouring prince, and one of the greatest powers in that part of India.

MEER JAFFIER was restored to the government in 1763; and on this occasion divided amongst the Company's servants the sum of 437,499 pounds; and 975,000 pounds was received of him as restitution money.

THE delivery of Coffin was demanded of Shujah Dowla; and that prince not complying with the demand, the war was carried into his country: during its continuance (in January 1765) Meer Jaffier died, and his second son, the eldest living, was advanced to the government, before an infant son of his elder brother. The Company's servants had the sum of 129,357 pounds divided amongst them. And about this time, the Commander in Chief received, for himself, his family, and the army, the sum of 62,666 pounds.

SHUJAH DOWLA, after being more than once defeated, his country made the seat of war, and himself closely pressed, and unable to hold out against the English army, cast himself upon the compassion of the Commander; and with this prince, the servants of the Company also got into their power the heir or claimant of the Mogul empire; and from this personage were taken grants for as much as it was thought advisable for them to have; which was, the whole revenues of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in the name of the India Company, continuing the government in the name of the Nabob, Meer Jaffier's son, to whom the Company's servants gave a yearly allowance for the support of his dignity; and they appointed a further sum to be paid annually to the Emperor, from whom they took the title to the revenues of the country. A treaty of peace was signed with Shujah Dowla, who was left in the possession of his dominions: the sum of 533,333 pounds was paid by him, on this occasion, for the use of the Company; and the sum of 90,999 pounds was received about this time, by two of the Company's principal servants, as presents from the Emperor, the Begum or Queen of Bengal, and from one of the Chiefs of the country.

THE sums received on the occasions that have been mentioned, by the servants of the Company, amount together to 5,590,198 pounds; and the whole sum received for the use of the Company, from the beginning of the war in 1757 to 1771, is 23,892,715 pounds; together, 29,482,913 pounds.

THE

IN September, 1765, when the Company's servants had concluded all things with the country powers, they formed themselves into a society of trade, the capital stock of which was divided into sixty shares; the civil and military servants of the Company were the sole proprietors. The same persons were now masters of the country by military force; they appointed the Ministers of State, and collected the revenues in the name of the East India Company; and they were merchants, possessed of an exclusive trade, on their own account, in articles of common use among the natives of the country.

THERE does not appear to be any evidence, among the papers from which these are taken*, of the sums made by this trade; the duties payable to the India Company, on two of the articles, were estimated to produce from 150 to 160,000*l.* a year.

THE sum of the evidence which these papers contain appear to be—That we have possessed ourselves by force of a country in India, yielding a clear revenue of more than a million and an half of pounds sterling a year—That from the beginning of our first war in 1757, to the year 1771, it is acknowledged or proved, that the Company and its servants received between twenty-nine and thirty millions of pounds sterling from the princes of India and their subjects, besides a sum not known, arising from the exclusive trade which the Company's civil and military servants took to themselves, after they had obtained all the power of absolute governors over the people of the Provinces, called the Territorial Acquisitions of the East India Company.

THE events that took place amongst the people of these provinces, after we had possessed ourselves of the power of governing them, have been related on very good authority, but not having copies of those accounts sent home from India, the substance only of what is believed to have taken place after the conquest, is mentioned, in an enquiry into the general conduct of this country to other countries, published herewith.

* Reports of the Committee of the House of Commons, in 1772 and 1773.

A N
E N Q U I R Y
I N T O O U R
N A T I O N A L C O N D U C T
T O
O T H E R C O U N T R I E S.

March, 1782.

THE events that have taken place in the British empire, since the peace in 1763, include in them a great and general calamity to the people of this country, its colonies and dependencies. At the end of the late war, we were placed, as a nation, in a state of the greatest apparent safety from all foreign danger, by the superiority that had been given to our national arms; and by the moderation that was observed on the part of this country, in restoring to France and Spain some of their valuable distant dominions, that had been taken by our forces during the war; which left both nations without any reasonable cause for interrupting the peace at any future period, on account of any thing that was already past.

WITH this prospect of a lasting peace, and of security from all danger from without; we seemed to possess within ourselves, as a nation, as many, if not greater advantages than perhaps the people of any other country are favoured with. The situation and produce of the different parts of the dominions, afforded all the advantages arising from useful employment, and extensive commerce, that could well be desired. And with these advantages and apparent safety, we then had, what by the Divine blessing we are still favoured with.—The unequalled rights and privileges which every rank of the subjects possess in common with the very members of the legislature itself; and as an additional security, within the present reign, a law took place, to render the magistrates, charged with the administration of justice, more independent than ever they had been before, of the authority by which they are appointed. And as our last and greatest advantage; those restraints, which so great a part of mankind are unhappily under, in their just and necessary religious liberties, are not so much as known among us; every one in this country, possessing the revealed will of his CREATOR in his native language, as his legal inheritance, together with the liberty to use every means of information as to his interest and concern in it.

THE events that have taken place, and the dangers to which, at present, we apparently stand exposed, must justly be considered as a great and ge-

neral calamity.—A civil war has now, for some years, been carried on, with a numerous division of our fellow subjects in America: many thousands have fallen by each others hands; many more have survived their unhappy conflicts miserably wounded, to be maintained with the numerous dependents of the slain, by the labours of the industrious; who have had to raise many millions, already spent in the war, and to provide for the yearly payment of an heavy load of debt contracted on the public faith for the same purpose.

To run our minds over the several articles which make the sum of the evils we have suffered—Looking down upon the seas, the fields, the woods, the towns, the houses where we have fought and destroyed one another, and then taking a view of the pangs, the sufferings, the sorrows, the horrid fears of the helpless thousands about the seat of the war; the mourning of thousands among ourselves, and the daily toil of millions to provide for the expence of all this misery and devastation; a man must be ready to consider himself as partaking of a nature equally unfeeling and insensible of all the concerns of humanity and of futurity if he finds nothing within him cry out, What have we done to call down such a judgment as this upon ourselves!

BUT the past is not all; the present difficulties, and probable dangers, to the people of this country and its colonies, and all that belong to both, are what every thinking person, must add in some degree or other, to what we have already suffered. Were the people of this kingdom and America to throw an everlasting veil over all that is past, and to a man, from this day, consider themselves as one people, heirs of the same privileges by which they have so long been distinguished from all mankind, and unite as firmly, as ever they were united, to make the whole dominions one great asylum for the oppressed and persecuted to fly to, from under tyranny and superstition in other countries, yet what is the task which the whole empire has got to go through, to recover the situation in which we were before our unhappy contest began?

THE superiority which was given to our national forces in the last war, has not been given in the war in which we are now engaged, with the three maritime states next in power to our own of any in the world. United, they are evidently superior to us in numbers, and with all the experience of our officers, and all the courage of the men they command, with their utmost efforts on repeated trials, they have not been able, to make the ships and fleets of our enemies fly, or submit, as they were seen to do, in the late war. With the proofs our enemies have had of their equality, in the most furious conflicts,
that

that have taken place, and with their knowledge of their superior numbers, What is not to be expected from the desires of pride to leave off conquerors, and of avarice, to open to themselves a secure and lasting commerce betwixt their several countries and the growing continent of America? the natural produce of many parts of which, is so suitable to their wants, and its inhabitants calling for such supplies, as must employ multitudes of their subjects, and swell the streams of their several revenues.

If in the future events of the war, a clear superiority is given to France and Spain; or to these two nations assisted by Holland, What is the security which the people of Great Britain, Ireland and America have, for all the privileges they now possess above an equality with the people of France, Spain and Holland; and where live the people in the British dominions who can say, This town, this house shall not burn before the flame of war which was kindled within ourselves is finally put out? Or, who can inform us where the allies are, who will voluntarily throw themselves in the way of all the fury of the war, to put an end to it, with a view to say to this nation, Take all the dominions and all the civil and religious rights you had, before the war began? Where, besides our own, is that government, which will do as much for the very people who support it, and to whom they bear as near a relation, as governors can to subjects?

WITHOUT therefore allowing the least credit to our hopes on one hand, or to the suggestion of fear on the other, but only adding a reasonable estimate of future losses and sufferings, to those that have been already inflicted upon us; and comparing our situation in 1763 with our present circumstances, the change we have undergone, again calls upon us to ask ourselves, if as a nation, we have entitled ourselves to all this from any conduct of our own, either within ourselves, or to the people of other countries?

To make such an enquiry is the reasonable course which experience points out to individuals, who have found themselves under any considerable change in their circumstances from better to worse; and the advantages which have arisen from it, have been so frequent and so great, that perhaps there are few who are unacquainted with instances of particular persons and families who have been brought back from the brink of ruin, by adopting in the spirit of their conduct, the very reverse of that in which they had lived, and from which they saw all their difficulties had proceeded, as its natural and necessary result.

AGAINST

AGAINST the application of this reasoning to the case of a nation it is said, "The corruptions of a society, recommended by common utility, and justified by universal practice, are viewed by its members without shame or horror, and reformation never proceeds from themselves, but is always forced upon them by some foreign hand." If our historian * means that mankind in a state of civil society, will inevitably go on from one degree of corruption to another, till the community is totally ruined, then it would follow, that as soon as it is seen, on a view of the actual conduct of any community, that it had been such, as to entitle it to the ruin with which it was threatened; the members of that community, could then only act the part of men escaping from the ship, that must, against all that could be thought of or attempted, perish in the storm with which it is overtaken. But against this seeming general objection, to the hopes of a society recovering itself, as individuals are seen to do from the effects of their improper conduct; the reader may have authorities brought to his mind, to which all others must give place, and in which he will find, that instead of a nation's being doomed to destruction, any more than a man, let the one or the other do their utmost to reform their conduct; it is thus declared by the universal Lawgiver—"At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom to pluck up, and to pull down and to destroy it: If that nation against whom I have pronounced, turn from their evil, I will repent of the evil I thought to do unto them." The terms of this declaration, leave us in no doubt as to the possibility of a nation having the evils turned away from it, which by the crimes it brought upon itself: and it is observable, that the princes and people of the Jews, soon after this declaration was delivered to them, called to mind and spoke of it in one of their public assemblies, that a few ages before, their nation was delivered from the most imminent danger, when their king and leading men, accompanied their sincere supplications to the ALMIGHTY, with a reformation that penetrated the very heart of corruption in their country, and instead of sinking under the impending ruin of that time, they were not only delivered from it, but the latter part of the same reign was among the most prosperous of that nation. It is however true, that neither the declaration, nor the example produced the effect they were intended to have, at the time the one was delivered and the other mentioned: the governing party were engaged in what they took to be of more moment,

* Doctor ROB. RTSON.

than attending to the conditions which they knew were implied, both in the message that had been delivered to them, and the proof they had in their own history, of its truth: within ten years, they became an example of the certainty of another part of the message that was delivered to them at the same time, which is given in these words. — “At what instant I shall speak concerning a nation, and concerning a kingdom, to build, and to plant it: if it do evil in my sight, that it obey not my voice, then I will repent of the good wherewith I said I would benefit them.” The former part of the declaration met with neglect, the latter with their contempt; and the messenger of it escaped with his life, at the expence of severe treatment.—— Neglecting the conditions of the offered good, the threatened evil took place; and it was neither their policy, nor the unequalled reputation that country had gotten by its success in war, could save them: nearly the whole of the first people of the land, with their prince, were led away into slavery.

BUT though it *often* has been the case, that communities which have once become corrupt in the spirit of their conduct, have continued to be more and more so, till the general interests of the society have been destroyed; yet it is by no means established as a certain truth, *that all societies* of men must, in their public measures, continue to descend from less degrees of corruption to greater, till they fall under a foreign hand; or, as a nation, sink, and be utterly ruined.

NOTHING can be more clearly discovered to us, than that nations are in a state of trial, as well as every free rational agent of which the whole are formed. Those principles and rules for the government of the human conduct, which are declared to be of universal force, equally extend to every action that can be done by all the people of a country as one society, as to the action of every individual. That which is right or wrong in itself, is the same whether the one or the other is done by many or few; in the palace of a prince, or in the cottage of the poorest subject; whether it is the public measure of a great empire, or the act of the people of a single town.

To that which is in itself right, the Supreme Governor has promised his favour, which includes all that belongs to the safety, the peace, and the real happiness of those to whom his promised favour belongs. To that which in its nature is wrong, weakness, suffering, misery, and finally ruin is annexed. To these declarations are added a great variety of actual cases, taken from the history of mankind; and by these we are shewn, on the divine authority itself,

that those societies or nations who regarded the principles and rules by which they were required to act, in their conduct to other communities, and in their administrations within themselves, no dangers nor difficulties, nor all the efforts that were made against them, by their enemies, could prevent the beneficial effects taking place, which were included in the promised favour: All that went on in a stedfast regard to this, were never, by any means left in a situation in which they could with truth say, they had strictly, as a community, adhered to the spirit, as well as the letter of the rule by which they were required to act, and yet were finally disappointed of the promised good consequences. This is a thing which cannot any more take place, than that He who is unchangeable in himself, should ever be that at one time which he is not at another; or that the nature of things which flow from him should ever obey any other power than his own.

ON the other hand, many examples are presented to our view of the events which have taken place in those societies, who would, in opposition to all they knew, and all that was told them, go on in a conduct which was not to be justified by the principles and rules laid down to them in common with all mankind: and in this part of the examples that are given us, we see human wisdom and strength applied in a great variety of ways, to prevent the dangers coming upon them with which they were threatened; and finally, they are found to be attended with as little real effect, as a man's voice or arm has upon the fury of a storm, to make it cease or change its course: the consequences which were declared to be connected with the continuance in that which was wrong, were not to be frustrated or resisted by any human policy or force.

THE first branch of these discoveries represent the Divine Being acting at once as a sovereign and parent, with a benignity that included in it every substantial good, refusing nothing which would not injure by being bestowed: the second branch shews the Governor of the earth, executing his own laws, and inflicting on the nations that would continue in the violation of them, the penalties annexed to offences against natural justice — war, famine, pestilence, and all the variety of public calamities: among the severest of which seems to have been that of giving up those that had made themselves thus guilty, to their own hearts desires; and where this has been the case, the passions of the human mind, set on work by its natural selfishness, have broken through all restraints, and trampled on all the relative obligations of duty;

duty; interrupted domestic peace, disturbed the settled order of society, and as far as human power would go, assisted by those that were diabolical, have plundered, oppressed, enslaved, and would have thrown the whole world into confusion and misery, had not their wrongs to other nations, and their wickedness among themselves, been followed by an increase of their own weakness and misery, till they are lost sight of in total ruin.

BUT in this history of universal government, that of recovering nations and societies of men from the effects of their own ill conduct, makes a distinguished branch. And here, instead of seeing them doomed to ruin as their inevitable fate, and irrecoverable when once corrupt; those that have been as much so as a people could almost possibly be, when there has been but one to ask remission of the threatened ruin, infinite compassion has been willing to spare thousands of the guilty for the sake of a few that were not so. It seems only to have been when there were none left that would or durst oppose the general corruption, among those that authorized the measures of the community, that its ruin took place. And even then nothing is more evident, than the gracious reluctance with which the penalties of his justice approached the society on which they were to be inflicted; and soon were they withdrawn when the people that formed the community, or a few of those that directed its measures, have relented, and adopted a conduct the contrary of that which had called for the calamities with which they were visited.

WHEN, indeed, this has not been the case, but the acting members of the society have gone on in a course of injustice against the people of other countries, and continued their corruptions among themselves, notwithstanding the sufferings that had come upon them, then the severity of them has been increased; war has been exchanged for famine, and famine has been followed by pestilence; and at other times, those that have been charged with the public interests, have been so divided into parties, and led away by selfish views, and a spirit of avarice, to secure all they could for themselves, their families, and dependents, that the people of the nation have been so reduced, and all union for the common good so lost and destroyed, that, as a nation, they have finally sunk under the sentence of universal justice, for the offences of the community against those principles and rules of conduct, but for which the people of every country, and of all the world, would be in a state of constant rapine and violence, from those whose conscience was no law to themselves.

BUT even in those cases, when a people have been deprived of their power and prosperity as a nation, for the abuse they made of both, the seasons of public distress and danger, have been the seasons when individuals have been brought into the possession of higher and far more lasting advantages, than the happiest state of human society can afford.—When they have seen themselves surrounded with dangers, that could neither be resisted nor evaded, they have found time to reflect on the part they themselves had acted, in the society which had thus brought upon itself the displeasure of the Supreme Being.—They have seen themselves chargeable with a load of complicated guilt as individuals; and have found the Judge of all had punishments to inflict which could penetrate the very centre of the soul, and render them completely miserable; and seeing their crimes written in their personal distress, the most careless and daring minds have been filled with dread of a judgement to come, and of the penalties which will follow that judgement: they have abhorred themselves for their forgetfulness of Him that made them, and for their want of veneration and gratitude to that infinite goodness, which continually bestowed upon them all they possessed: they have seen themselves criminal against every attribute of the Divine nature, and that the very language of their lives has been little less than one constant declaration of contempt of the Almighty's will: they have shrunk at the prospect of appearing before Him whose presence they found they must soon approach, by decaying nature, or the dangers that were destroying thousands about them: and after trying again and again to cast off their horror and their misery, among those who had lived as little for the real end of living as themselves, and finding that they could no more fly from the consequences of their own conduct, than they could from themselves; tired, ashamed of the life they had lived, their hearts have felt a sincere regret, and when they were ready to sink into final despair, they have found themselves surprised with that happiness which is alone worthy of an immortal nature; and GOD, the AUTHOR and the END of our being, has, by his Spirit, manifested Himself to minds conscious of their guilt and misery, as at once willing to forgive the guilt, and able to take away the misery: they have found themselves reconciled to infinite justice and goodness, by that Mediator who came from heaven in compassion to mankind, to seek their regard, and to save them that would be saved, from that very lost and ruined state into which, by their secret and open offences against truth, purity, and integrity, they had plunged themselves.—

Thus

Thus acquainted, thus reconciled and restored to the favour of the gracious Governor of both worlds, instead of seeing themselves any longer as the wretched subjects of an equally wretched state, they have felt themselves to be heirs of a better kingdom; for their distressing fears, they have possessed immortal hopes; the interest of a few uncertain years they have exchanged for those that are as great as they are endless; and for the friendship of the world, they have received the friendship of God. And if it was not true that nations, as well as individuals, might be saved out of the worst situation which it is possible for either to be in, short of their final sentence from infinite justice; all those calls to mankind, in the revealed will of the Almighty, to consider their past conduct, could never have been given, because they would have been useless in themselves.

CONCLUDING then, that the Divine Being does not any more will the destruction of a nation, than he does the death—the endless *ruin* of a single person, if either the one or the other will cease to do that, which, if continued in, by necessary and unalterable consequence, must procure their destruction and final ruin; it is, of course, of the last moment, both to individuals, and to men acting together in a state of civil society, to enquire how far the inconveniences, the difficulties, and the distress they find themselves under, are the effects of what they themselves have done, and how far they are continuing in the very spirit of the same conduct. And concluding, that all that has befallen this country and its colonies, does amount to a sufficient discovery of the Divine displeasure; there seems to be every reason to turn our attention to examine what our conduct has, in fact, been; and when we have taken a view of it, within the period of our enquiry, then to enquire what consequences are reasonably to be expected from a continuation in the spirit of that conduct, was the whole empire placed, to day, in the very same situation in which it was immediately after the peace in 1763.

Looking upon the whole nation as one great public character, we need not spend many moments in collecting its general temper at the end of the last war. The success that had attended our arms in every part of the world to which they were sent, being so often published by the authority of the state, in the course of the war, the subjects, in general, were led to look upon themselves as possessed of a power, far superior to that of any other people. The nation looked upon itself as a great conqueror; and both in this country, and in the colonies, the vast fortunes that had been made by the spoil of our enemies,

mies, and by the immense sums that were spent by our own government, made thousands assume the carriage and appearance of men, who thought themselves independent of all the world; so that our victories, our riches, and the addition that had been made to the dominions in America, were the means of filling the minds of multitudes with those sentiments, which, wherever they exist and bear rule, are, in their nature, productive of misery to their possessors, and of evil to all others, where the effects of them spread. The success which so many had met with, and the security with which they thought they possessed their riches, became the means of setting the minds of thousands on fire to obtain wealth by any means, that they might be able to appear with some degree of equality to those whom they remembered once to have been as low as themselves; but who were now, by the mere influence of their property, mixing and connecting themselves with our nobility and gentry. Thousands, without either wealth, or means to obtain it, to any considerable degree, could not endure to see themselves so much below their equals. They assumed that appearance on credit, which others had done by the real acquisition of property; and from the head of the empire to its remotest borders, taking in the whole circle, new modes of expence spread, like the waves of a rising flood, and luxury and sensuality kept pace with shew and appearance. The example of one vain or unworthy passion increasing another, and new ways of expence creating new necessities; thousands, that had insensibly, perhaps, at first been carried away by the torrent, soon found themselves so far gone from moderate ways of living, that they were out of their depth; and instead of attempting to return, they entered upon such hazardous and desperate endeavours to acquire fortunes, as have yearly ruined numbers in all ranks of life; whilst as many more, by means little more to be commended, have been labouring to save themselves from sinking beneath the rank and appearance they had taken upon themselves.

WHILST the most busy and active part of the nation were thus, by the unwarrantable increase of their expences, laying themselves under a necessity to have money by any means, it became generally understood among us, that several of our fellow subjects had possessed themselves of great fortunes, in a country in Asia, abounding with riches. The truth of the report was soon confirmed by the arrival of many witnesses; and when several were seen, surrounded with all the proofs of real affluence, the leading members of the state became

became parties in the plans that were suggested to them for acquiring wealth and dominion in that country. And when the sanction of their concurrence appeared, the managers of the company trading to India were pressed upon, as ministers of state, to send out new adventurers into this rich country; and though there are tens of thousands who neither sent nor desired to send any that belonged to them, yet there does not seem to be any rank or profession which, in some degree or other, did not take part in the designs that were going forward in India. What those designs were, will appear by the annexed Evidence of our transactions in the East-Indies. They were, in short, to enrich ourselves, at the expence of the people of that country; and this, not by commerce, but by war and conquest.

THE people of this country were first admitted into India by the favour of their princes, as foreigners might be allowed to have factories in any of the sea-ports of this kingdom. And after carrying on a beneficial commerce with them for many years, a war commenced between the reigning prince of Bengal and some of our forces. Before they met in the field, a treaty was made with one of the first generals in the prince's army, to betray his master in the day of battle; on the condition, that if we were successful in consequence of his doing so, he was to be rewarded with the dominions of his master. A person of rank in the country, to whom the design became known, threatened to discover it to the prince; but before he did so, an agreement was struck to give him a large sum out of his master's treasury, if the event of the war was in our favour. The prince, seeing himself betrayed, fled from the field of battle, and that night from his palace. Notwithstanding the disguise in which he went to the house of one of his subjects, he was known to him. It was a person that had received an act of injustice from him. He was secured, and sent back to his palace; he did not survive the night of his arrival. His treasures were divided. We took a large sum. But no regard was paid to the agreement solemnly made to procure the silent concurrence of the courtier, who had threatened to discover our design.

THOSE of the subjects of this country that gained most by this first revolution, retired, and left the management of our affairs in the hands of others; and notwithstanding the treaty made with the first person we advanced, was confirmed by solemn oaths, that we should support him in the government, yet he was soon deposed, and a large sum was taken of his successor;
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who himself was soon driven from the government, and his predecessor restored; from whom we again received another large sum. He died, and his son was appointed in his stead. Another large sum was extorted from him. At this time we were at war with the prince of a country bordering on the provinces we had already under our power. With this prince was the emperor of India. They were reduced by our forces to the necessity of submitting to our terms; which were, the giving us a formal grant of the provinces before taken, and a farther large sum of money.

WHEN we had thus gotten the country entirely in our power, the few articles, which were there among the necessities of life, were taken under our management. The people who raised or made those articles, were only allowed to sell them to us: the inhabitants could buy only of those we appointed to sell: they had no choice, but to do without them, or comply with our terms; and we gave them examples of public severity to such as did not, that terror might produce the effect that was desired. As some of our people enriched themselves, and came away, others went among them from us. The people of the country were dispirited, and all industry appeared to be hopeless labour. Our wars and oppressions were then followed by scarcity: this brought the natural plenty of the country within the reach of other monopolies. A famine ensued:—scores of men, women and children, that came about our houses in the evenings, to cry for food to us, who had them and all things in our power, were found dead in the mornings. The living would not, or cared not to bury the dead. The total number said to have been destroyed by our wars, driven away from their country by their dread of us, and starved to death under our management, is three millions; the estimated number of all the people of North America before the war began.

WHILST all this business was going forward in India, those of our fellow-subjects that had enriched themselves with the property of this unhappy people, were, one after another, coming home among us; many of them purchased great estates, and appeared on the seats of the legislature. The managers of the company in England, made many complaints of the conduct of their servants in India; but at the time they did this, they gave pressing orders for the collection of the revenues of the country acquired in their name. Many public complaints were made against the general proceedings; but at the time they were made, we were receiving, as a nation, the payment of a large sum out of the common spoil. At length a public enquiry was made, by examining the
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the principal persons. The papers published on this occasion, contain a connected state of a part of the evidence. As a nation, we acquitted them all; no penalty was laid, no reparation was ordered to be made to the survivors of the people who had suffered under our oppressions: not a single punishment was inflicted on one of their oppressors. The whole proceedings were published among us, and after they were so, many of the names that appeared among the first authors of all that was done in India, were seated among the representatives of the people of this country. Their conduct has received all the sanction that a total acquittal, public stations, and a general welcome amongst a people can give them. The country they thus obtained, this country holds or endeavours to hold to this day. The dominions that have been taken from the princes of the country; all the means that have been used in obtaining the many millions of property that have been brought away from the people of that country, by the people of this, stands without a single censure from us as a nation. On the contrary, the whole appears, to this day, with all the approval which the society of a nation can give, to make that which has been done by a few, the act of the whole.

THE conduct of this country to the people of AFRICA, has continued the same for so many years, that the most public endeavours of several individuals, to make us look upon that conduct as criminal in itself, have not produced any reformation, or removal of that sanction which is given by the state to the trade which at once produces and tolerates all the ill-treatment which the Africans receive at our hands.

SEVERAL of the colonies and plantations belonging to this country, in America and the West-Indies, have been found, from their first settlement, fit for raising rice, tobacco, cotton, sugar, and spirits made from the sugar-cane, and some other articles, at once agreeable and beneficial to us:—in order to cultivate the ground on which these things are raised, we have long been accustomed to send our ships to the coasts of Africa, to procure the people of that country to perform the necessary labour.

THE people of Africa, it is evident, have the same natural reluctance to leave their own country, and become our servants, as the people of this country would have to leave our coasts, and go to that country and become their servants. They shew their unwillingness, by hazarding their lives in the most desperate battles, to prevent their being forced away from their native abode

into our hands; and during the currency of our trade, as it is called, a much greater number appear to be yearly destroyed, to prevent their being taken away, than all we obtain.

WE first discovered what were the things which we could take from this country to theirs, that would produce the same effects as gold and silver would, on the minds of men, in any country, who are governed by no better principle than that of their own immediate gain, or gratifying their own inclinations. We went to *their* coasts, taking these articles with us, and offered them as inducements to their chief men to sell us those they had in their power, or could lay hold of among those that were not under their immediate authority. After some time, we forced our way into their country, and built forts to protect the trade we had begun, and for years past, we have been carrying away many thousands of men, women and children annually to our colonies and plantations.—With very few exceptions, if any, all that we have taken away, that were of an age to know where they were going, were put into our power by force; and whatever the customs of their own country may be, as much against their will as it could possibly be against that of the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be taken away by force, and made slaves for life to the people of any other country in the world.

THE people thus obtained and carried away in our ships are sold by them as cattle; and though there may have been many instances of their meeting with humane masters, and several of them having their liberty given them,—yet if this has been the case with one in ten thousand, it is probably as large a proportion as have met with this treatment; all the rest were slaves for life; their offspring slaves, and all that descend again from them. And if the formal resolutions we have made for governing them, may be called laws, they are laws to place them in a condition much worse than are cattle used for any sort of labour in this country; besides beating and whipping them to make them do our work. How often has it been among the corrections of negroes, to throw knives and forks at their poor defenceless persons? An unruly horse is often seen to be corrected with severity; but whoever heard of it as a punishment established among us, that if such an animal should be unruly to a certain degree, his master should chop off half a foot? But this is among the punishments provided for the people of Africa in slavery to the people of this nation: and wherein we have distinguished them from cattle, the distinction itself shews the impious length to which our oppression of them has proceeded. If

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a master murders his slave, when he only meant to vent the brutal passions of his own ungoverned mind upon him, it is provided by public authority in some of the plantations, that the master shall pay but a fine of a few pounds. That they are fed and taken care of, with a view to preserve them in health, and to prolong their lives, is certainly true; but, in general, the care and kind treatment which the working cattle in England meet with, from those they belong to, places them in a situation, as to all the comforts of mere animal life, much superior to the circumstances under which the people we bring from Africa live and die in our service.

THIS conduct appears to be as much the conduct of the whole country, as any thing which is done by a few can be made the act of all. Our national arms protect the ships that carry these unhappy people to their endless slavery; we fight for and defend the ground on which they suffer their miserable oppressions, as much as if it was within the island in which our nation is seated. We use the things which these men, women and children are made slaves, in order to cultivate; and as a nation, we have a constant regard to the advantages which result from their slavery.

ABOUT one-third of the number that are taken away from Africa, are said to lose their lives, or destroy themselves, either in the voyage, or before they become of much use to us in our settlements. The accounts of the total number taken away within a year, are sometimes as high as an hundred and fifty thousand; at other times as low as sixty thousand: and the present war has prevented almost any being carried away. But the trade is only discontinued against our consent, and for want of power to carry it on; and the whole of it is standing under the same sanction it had when it was continued.

NEARLY allied to this treatment, is that which the native inhabitants of AMERICA met with from those that went from among us. But this, like the former, has been so long continued, that we may have ceased to think it ever was, or is at this time chargeable against us as a crime, to have driven away the people from the country, which they were as much used to consider as their own, as ever the people of this country were to consider the house they lived in as their own. Excepting in a single province, where a few of our countrymen regulated their conduct to the natives by the principles of equity; in all the rest, we forced our way wherever our inclinations led us, as far as we could; and when a regard to our own safety obliged us to

make terms with the poor people we had invaded, and boundaries were fixed by public contracts, we broke them whenever we saw ourselves superior to them, 'till we possessed ourselves of all that vast country, for which we have been contending as our right and dominion.

OUR TREATMENT OF THE CARIBBES OF St. VINCENT.

THE island of St. Vincent was inhabited by some of the original natives of South-America. About fifty years since, a ship filled with men, women and children, from the coast of Africa, in her way to some other island, was wrecked upon that of St. Vincent. The native Americans received the Africans among them. They saw they had come with no design to do them any wrong; they gave them a part of their little country, and they grew up together till they became one people. When the French had that island, limits were agreed on, and the Caribbes, as they are called, possessed their lands in peace and safety. On these terms the French ceded the island to us. But after the late war, we began to cut roads through their lands; they saw we were going to take their possessions from them, and to prevent this, as they were more in number, they took all our workmen prisoners, and kept them till they were assured that we would proceed no farther; and when this was done, they let all our people go, without having done to any of them the least hurt. Our soldiers were soon hurried down to this island, to act against these people, in a season which cost many of them their lives. The officers that commanded in this war, thought it a very dishonourable one; but they who were intrusted with the direction of the public measures, acted as if it was not only just but necessary; and this was the sense which, as a nation, we passed upon it. So many of them were killed, as made the rest submit to our pleasure.

pleasure. In this transaction we followed the example of those of our nation, who had before disregarded the natural rights of men, and the feelings of humanity, in possessing themselves of many parts of the provinces of America; by destroying the ancient inhabitants, who, as it was proved, would have let us have had all we wanted, for little more than a civil acknowledgement.— In this small instance, we set our seal to all the unjust conduct our countrymen had been guilty of against the Indians; by letting all that had been done against these poor Caribbes pass without a single censure either on those that proposed the cruel treatment of them, or on those without whose authority it could not have been carried into execution, and by leaving them at the mercy of their oppressors. After the whole transaction was enquired into, it amounted to little less than a public declaration, that all the obligations of natural justice and humanity must give place to the present interest of our own people, in any part of the world, where they had themselves, or we could give them the superiority.

It is no part of the design with which this view of our national conduct is taken, to attempt to make any transaction appear in any other light than that in which it is placed by the facts as they were. And if the reader should think, that this part of our conduct was not that flagrant injustice that it is here taken to be, he may, perhaps alter his opinion, if he will only consider these poor men to be no other than an equal number of little farmers and gardeners in his own neighbourhood, where they, and their fathers before them, had lived in peace, for a long course of years; on lands to which they were allowed to have an undeniable right. And thus considering them, let him suppose a few strangers coming and purchasing estates near to these poor people, and soon afterwards beginning to enter upon their lands as if they were their own; but meeting with resistance from the people whose rights they invaded, the strangers promise not to molest them any farther; upon this, the neighbourhood is seen to be again in peace; till of a sudden the forces of the government came and fell upon the helpless inhabitants, killed those that appeared to make resistance, and then drove away the rest from their native spots, giving the strangers leave to take what they thought good of their little possessions. Let us then suppose the officers that commanded on this service, looking upon it with abhorrence, and expressing themselves in terms suitable to their honest feelings. Let us then see the people of the country in which this was done, assembled, and receiving the represen-

representation of all these facts, let us hear one of their own magistrates assure them, that the men thus treated had all been under his authority, and that they were a peaceable people, living agreeably to their own customs, upon their possessions, without ever being known to discover any desire to intrude, in the least degree, on the rights of others; we may then ask ourselves, what we should think of the character of that nation, whose public sentence declared, that there was nothing wrong in all that had been done—that the men who had designed and authorised all this, had done it because it was their interest and their pleasure; and that the interest of native subjects and the pleasures of men in public stations, were worthy of much more consideration, than the rights and lives of a few hundred people, of whom we knew nothing more than that they were of foreign extraction. But when the reader has seen this part of our public conduct in its just degree of enormity, he has certainly only seen a very minute representation of what has been done, and approved of by the people of this country, to the natives of Asia, of Africa, and of America.

WHAT our conduct has been to the other countries in Europe, may also be enquired.

ONE of the first things that engaged the attention of Europe, after the conclusion of the late war in 1763, was the unequal contest between the French nation and the people of CORSICA. The republic of Genoa had long wanted to govern the Corsicans against their consent; and when the Genoese found themselves unable to do it, they assigned their right in the people of Corsica, as their subjects, to France, who sent her troops to take possession of the island. The people in Corsica were as entire strangers to the French, as the people of any county of England are; and dreading an unconditional subjection to a country, whose laws, language, and customs were unknown to them, they endeavoured to defend themselves against the French forces, as before they had done against those of Genoa. Their case became publicly known among us, and some looking upon it in a degree as their own, sent them supplies. The effect which the receipt of provisions or military stores would produce among them, may easily be conceived, when we consider what they knew of our situation at that time, and what they felt of their own. The natural reluctance which mankind have to be under the absolute govern-
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ment of foreigners, and the hopeless inequality of numbers, which the Corsicans knew they had to their invaders, rendered them desperate. The sight of a single ship from our nation, was the most encouraging circumstance which could have appeared to them. They knew we had such a superiority at sea, to the French nation, that if we did but declare ourselves their friends, and order one of our men of war in the Mediterranean to sail a few times round their island, it would be enough to prevent France from any further attempts to extend her dominion by their oppression. The receipts of presents from us, naturally filled the minds of a people, in their situation, with hopes that we would not have given them any such encouragement to hold out, if we did not mean to do more for them. They went on to sell their country as dear as they could to the French; they killed many of them; and after they had provoked them to the utmost by their resistance, we stood and looked on, till France shot and executed as many as were sufficient to shew all the rest, that death or unconditional submission, was all the choice they had.

OUR privity, as a nation, to all this, with the power to prevent it, was only to be excused by the supposed right of France, to do all she did to the Corsicans, as subjects in a state of rebellion. But if this was so, why did we allow supplies to be sent to a people, to strengthen their hands, in rebellion against their lawful government? It was done openly and publicly by those who did it; and as a nation, we certainly ought not to have allowed either provisions or stores to have been sent to those, who we knew would be enabled by these means to hold out the longer against legal authority, and who would use the aid we gave them, in destroying the people of a nation with whom we were at peace. If we allowed the Corsicans to be killed, and the survivors to be enslaved, because they were in a state of rebellion, on what principles do we justify to the French nation, the countenance and support which the general of the Corsicans met with from us immediately after he retired from his country, and for many years after, down to the present day. But if all this was not countenancing and supporting subjects in a state of opposition to the lawful authority to which they ought to have submitted; our conduct on the other hand was that which is so much condemned by the principle of all the laws, divine and human, which make those that stand by and see crimes committed, without endeavouring to prevent them, parties with those that perpetrated them.

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TO the TURKISH NATION, our conduct seems to have contributed to their forced submission to the hard terms of peace proposed by Russia; and, in consequence, their submission to the scandalous division of the dominions of Poland.

THE Turks seeing themselves in danger from the designs of Russia, were obliged to depart from that system by which they had preserved themselves in peace, for many years, with all the nations of Europe. The head of the Russian empire giving to the world a proof, which indeed was not wanted, that vast dominions would not satisfy the human mind, pushed her way southward. The Turks were guilty of no encroachment. They were obliged to enter into a war to defend their own country; not knowing where an ambition might stop, that was not satisfied with an empire, the extent of which was hardly discovered.

AFTER several severe conflicts, the Russians got the advantage; yet it was not such as to produce the effect they designed by the war. To accomplish their purpose, they sent a fleet from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, and invaded the Turkish dominions on that side; and this obliged the Turks to submit to the terms on which the peace was concluded. The dominions of the king and republic of Poland, were then divided, by that title which foxes and wolves have to their prey, and added to the dominions of the three crowns, which yet hold the possession of what was so obtained. The distress and misery of the king, the nobility, and people of Poland, appear, by the account of their oppressions, to have been as great as a people could well suffer; and all that one could imagine the king, nobility, and people of this our own country would suffer, if the same three powers were again to club their Russian strength to divide this kingdom among them.

No knowledge is pretended of what passes in courts; all that is here intended to be spoken of, is only that which was actually done; this appears certain, that the government of Turkey was on that side which was opposed to the division of the dominions of Poland; and it is equally certain, that, as a nation, we or our rulers were on the contrary side. One of the first naval engineers, among the British admirals, was sent to Petersburg, to direct the preparation of the Russian ships of war; and when they were ready for sea, other British officers took charge of their navigation, under the nominal command of a Russian nobleman. At the time the Russian ships were expected in our seas, on their voyage to the Mediterranean, orders were given that they should

should be assisted by our pilots, and accommodated in any of our ports. They arrived, were refitted, and sailed directly from this country against Turkey, when they were the immediate means of producing the effect they were intended to produce — a necessity in the Turkish nation to submit to the terms of Russia, and the designs against Poland. The government and people of Turkey had done nothing to give us so much as a pretext to assist their enemy in going against them; neither did we give the Turks any cause to apprehend such injury from us; but on the contrary, we continued our ambassador among them, and he did not leave that court till some time after the Russian ships had done them all the mischief, on that side of the country.

To see this part of our national conduct in the light which those saw it in who were affected by it, or all that take any notice of what one nation is doing to another, we ought to place ourselves in the situation of Turkey and Poland, or in that of a people who were entirely unconcerned. Had this country been the object of the intended division, and the Irish the only people that appeared on the side of preventing it, and Denmark had lent her naval officers and opened her ports to forward a Russian fleet to the coasts of Ireland, to lay them under a necessity of leaving us to the mercy of our invaders, when we understood that if Denmark, or some other country, had not given this assistance, it would have been next to impossible for the people that were going to over-run us, to have sent a fleet against the only nation that appeared in arms to prevent it; what we would think of Denmark, Holland, or any other country giving their assistance in such a case, is that which the Turkish and Polish nation, and all that take notice of it, must think of the aid we gave Russia in sending her ships to the Mediterranean; a voyage, which without such aid, they could not have made, but at such a risque, as must have prevented their attempting it, except under the most desperate circumstances. Or, to bring this conduct down to common life, and actions change not their nature by the numbers or names of those that commit them, it appears to be the same as that of the people of one town assisting and harbouring those that were known to be going to do the highest injury to the people of another, and against which the wrong-doers could not have gone, had they not been assured before they set out, of the assistance they were to meet with in their way.

Our general conduct to the other maritime states, may be found to have given them just cause to think themselves ill treated by us.

AFTER we had obtained a clear superiority over the fleets of France in the late war, as a nation we certainly allowed our armed ships to molest those of other countries, and to bring them into our ports, under circumstances which gave us no more right to do so, than those have who live by the sides of our highways, to lay hold of travellers going about their business, and upon roads which they have the same right to pass, as those by whom they are interrupted. The ships of foreign nations were repeatedly brought into our ports, and detained at a great loss and expence, in waiting the event of tedious trials, by which it was found there was no other cause for treating them as they were treated, than that of their being foreigners—the ships and subjects of other nations; and that it was well understood that we were, at sea, the stronger, and they the weaker party. And it is probable that those foreigners who looked a little nearer, discovered that those who brought their ships into our ports, and those that stood in the way of being benefited by the expences which arose in consequence of it, were far from being strangers to each other: whether the ships and cargoes seized, were condemned or not, we were as sure to be the gainers, as they were to be the losers: if condemned, we got the whole; if there was not evidence sufficient to induce the condemnation, then we got all that they spent whilst they lay in our ports to obtain the authority of our courts to depart with their own. This part of our conduct as a nation may have been so little known to many, and indeed the evidence which makes up the whole of our treatment of foreigners in this respect, lays so much out of the ordinary way of reading or conversation, that the reader may not think we have made any such use of our superiority at sea, as to give other states any great cause of complaint on this account. But besides many of these charges against us, of great and real injuries, the reader may be informed, that some of our people have gone so far as to nail the hand of a foreigner down to his ship, 'till in his helpless agony he should be made to furnish evidence for condemning the property with which he was intrusted. And though it is hoped this may be but a singular instance of wrong and cruelty united; yet if any subject of this country had received the same treatment from the people of any other nation, that had the power over us, we may judge

judge with what apprehensions we should pass their coasts and meet their ships at sea.

AND what seems to have given a considerable increase to the bad sentiments which foreigners have had just cause to entertain of us, on account of these naval injuries, is the general spirit in which our sea-faring people have behaved to their ships and subjects, wherever they have met with them. Our conduct for some years past, has been far from that of men with their equals: we have often compelled them, and many times with rudeness, to pay us the acknowledgements of what we thought our naval superiority over all the world required: and these very acknowledgements when made, have frequently been returned with insults and the language of contempt; and this even in their own ports, where we had no other right thus to treat them, than guests have to shew the same behaviour to the people of the houses, that open their doors to them as strangers, and entertain them with becoming civility.

WHAT the conduct of the people of this country has been, as travellers in other countries, how far they have been benefited by us, or have just cause to think they would have been no worse if we had never been among them, are subjects which one is necessarily led to think of, in an enquiry into the whole of our character as a nation. Certainly, in every part of our conduct, there have been exceptions, which have made many of the people of the countries we have had to do with, remember individuals belonging to this nation with esteem, and gratitude that they ever knew them. But, perhaps, few people that have been in the way of seeing any thing of the conduct of our travellers in general, or of hearing the report of the character which they have obtained, but must be of opinion, that as far as the words, actions, and manners of so small a number as go through other countries, can convey a general idea of a nation, that it is next to an impossibility that sober-minded foreigners should form any other judgement of us, than that we were a people who held ourselves as little accountable for any thing we did, or for the purposes for which we used our time, our money, and our understandings, as any people could well do; and that our language, as far as they could understand us, was that of the most impious, and our ways of employing ourselves, that of the most trifling, useless, and wicked of mankind; that it was in general only the worst of every country that gained by our excesses; and that assisted by our affluence and our confidence, we publicly shewed ourselves the friends of so many vices, as rendered it impossible that we should leave the people of any

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country the least degree better or happier than we found them; but rather more likely to confirm the most corrupt in their vices, by the concurrence of a people who are known to stand at the head of all the world for religious and civil advantages.

WHAT, as a nation, we have omitted to do, is that which would not bring a trifling charge against us, in the view of any man that considered himself equally related to all mankind. The revealed will of the Almighty, of which, by His Providence, we are so fully possessed, contains the last and plainest discoveries of the grounds and ways of certain happiness to all mankind: this being one of the many proofs of its sacred origin, that it applies itself equally to all men in every country, and to the very nature of the human mind; and provides for the present peace of every individual, and every nation; and for the endless well-being of all men, as free and immortal agents. With this system of divine wisdom in our hands, with entire liberty, to publish it to all the world, and in every language, and with the revenues of princes in the possession of that particular part of the community to whom the system itself is committed, we go on from one year's end to another, living for every other end, as would appear from our conduct, but that of making known truths which are of the last moment to every rational creature which forms the whole family of the earth.

THE men by whom the truths of this sacred system were first delivered from the Divine Being himself, spared no pains; they hazarded all that men could lose or suffer, to make known to the ages in which they lived, the discoveries which they knew the infinite compassion wished every man to know, because capable of making every man happy: from age to age, to the present, this system has been preserved and handed down; but by the neglect, the ignorance, the sloth, the mistaken selfishness of mankind, and their rulers, these immediate discoveries, from the Parent of all, and of all good, are not so much as within the reach of nineteen parts out of twenty of the whole human race at this day. It is true that about sixty or seventy years ago, an equally christian and royal example was given of the way to tender with a kind hand, the sacred system of benevolence, to a few heathen countries; or rather, to a few spots in those countries; and since that time there has been the continuance of a plan to do the same thing; and nothing is properly to be called little in one sense, that tends to the endless good of but a single individual. But to look at the numbers that have been sent out from among us, to deliver these heavenly messages to
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the people of other countries, in characters and languages that they understood; and considering what we have done as a nation to support and give effect to the divine designs and express commands, the whole cast up for the last twenty years, does not amount to a pepper corn out of a million; it does not, all together, make the poorest acknowledgement that any people could make, whose hearts were penetrated with the lowest sense of the unequalled blessings and advantages, sacred and civil, which, as a nation, we enjoy by His entire bounty, who both gives all, and who can by the least motion of his will, take life and all away.

To sum up our whole conduct, and to compare the different articles of it with the events that have taken place:—We were first admitted into the East-Indies by the favour of the princes of that country, to trade with their subjects, and then to have settlements among them. We have, within these few years begun to make wars with the natives; we have possessed ourselves of the whole country into which we were so admitted; we found it like a garden for plenty, and we have made it a wilderness; it was the store-house of that part of India; under our management, in five or six years time, it became a place of wretchedness and misery; we destroyed, starved, and drove away three millions of the people of the country by our violence, rapine and oppression. Assisted by our public forces, we have allowed our people to make one revolution after another, till we have made ourselves masters of the dominion and of the people, said to have been fifteen millions in number when we first went among them; and after the subjects of this country had done them all the injuries which one people could well do to another; and after being told as a nation, by those we ourselves employed to make the enquiry, “There were accounts of crimes shocking to human nature, and transactions that were carried into execution by perfidy and murder.” We entirely acquitted, as a nation, our people of any crime in all this; as a nation, we have neither punished, fined, or so much as blamed either all or any one of them; but on the contrary, after the repeated publication of their crimes to the whole nation, the people of this country have not only, in all the variety of distinct bodies, and corporate societies, into which our whole nation is divided, been silent under all that has been done without a single exception; but several of them have selected these very persons, in preference to any in the kingdom beside, to appear in their name,
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and as entrusted in their stead, to transact their part of the public business in the legislature : we have publicly divided the spoil with those that brought it to us ; and we have done all a nation could do, to give those dominions and that property which were acquired by force against right, accompanied with “ perfidy and murder,” all the sanction of lawful dominions, and of property duly obtained ; as if the whole proceedings had been strictly agreeable to all that is required of mankind in their conduct to each other, by the rules of natural justice, and consistent with our character as a christian state.

UNDER this head of our national conduct, it is to be enquired, if in any of the events that have accompanied or followed these measures, there is any degree of resemblance betwixt what we have done, and what has befallen us ?

THE community, in whose name every thing was done in India, and which is still allowed to have a name among us, by what it was made to pay on one hand, and what itself was plundered of on the other, this community became an eminent example, of what indeed no new instance was necessary to establish, that possessions gotten by wrong do little service to those that so acquire them. It was the nominal possessor of vast revenues, collected by its servants, from the dominions and subjects of the Princes of India, and as a company of merchants, it was distressed to the last degree to pay the demands that were coming against it. As a mode of relief, and as a society of subjects favoured by the state, they were allowed an exclusive right to send one of the articles of their commerce to our colonies in America. The people of that country threw it into the sea, with the same wrong, with which the possessions had been obtained, and the property taken away from the Princes and people of India. Continuing, as a nation, to give the property of this company the protection of the state, so it was, whatever causes there were beside, that this company and its property were made the means of the beginning of violence ; and when the flame of our civil war was thoroughly kindled, the very same person who was placed at the head of the enquiry into the use we had made of our power over the people in India, was made the first public witness of the fall of our power in America ; by the laying down of our national arms in that country.

When the subjects of this nation had entered into the war with the reigning prince of Bengal, they secretly concluded a treaty with the head general among his subjects ; and the conditions on our part were, that we should, on being joined by him, and the forces he commanded, against his lawful prince

prince, assist him as friends and allies in opposition to his master; and on the united forces being finally successful, place him in possession of the country, and defend him in it. When the people of America had entered into the war against their lawful prince, France concluded a treaty with those that were at the head of the opposition to the government of this country, agreeing to assist them; and on the united forces being finally successful to establish them in the possession of the government of the country; only requiring of them, that they should never again submit themselves to the lawful dominion of their prince; a condition which was not included in express terms in our treaty in India, but which was, from the circumstances of that country, as well understood, as if it had been named in the very words which France used with respect to America.

THE number of people of which we occasioned the loss in India, and the number of the inhabitants of the colonies in America, were estimated in both countries, and when the reports from each met in this country, the numbers we “destroyed, starved, and drove away” by our oppression in the East, are the same as the number of those we have been endeavouring to prevent the loss of to ourselves in the West—the estimate of both one and the other being three millions; and the steps we have taken to get, secure, and govern a country divided into three provinces, to which we had no right, have been followed, step by step, to prevent our losing a country divided into thirteen provinces, to which we had a right. And we no sooner, effectually as we thought, secured the one, than we began to lose the other; and the hundreds of thousands which we opened our treasures to receive out of the spoil of our war in India, we have, as a nation, been spoiled of by the expences of our war in America; the final amount of which is yet as little to be estimated, as the total sum taken from the princes and people of India; but standing where we are and supposing only three rupees to have been brought away from the people of India, for every one of which there has been any public account given, the total of each would be nearly the same—an hundred millions of pounds sterling taken away by the exercise of our national power over the people of India; and an hundred millions expended in endeavouring to maintain our national power over the people of America.

THE trade to the coast of Africa for slaves, which, as a nation, we would not prohibit, after all the public appeals that had been made to us, has nearly been prohibited by the events of the present war. The difficulties in which

our

our West India islands have found themselves, have laid them under an involuntary necessity not to increase the number of their slaves. The supply of a great part of their provision from America being cut off, interest was obliged to give place to self-preservation. A part of the people of America, who used commonly to import slaves from Africa, desired a law to prohibit any more being brought to them, but notwithstanding we had solemnly declared, that slave-holding in this nation was against our laws, because against natural justice and humanity, in the way in which they are now obtained and used ; yet as a nation we would not suffer any part of our colonies to put it out of the power of their people, to encourage the procuring and carrying slaves to them ; we refused to give them leave to shut their ports against slaves. But what necessity did in the West Indies, the same necessity has done in America, and a power against which neither individuals nor nations, have been able to carry on a successful opposition, has put an end to the merciless trade ; and has given a season of peace to the people of Africa, which in consequence of our trade, have for many years known nothing but fear and continual alarms, never laying down to sleep, without cause, more or less, to apprehend that they might awake in the hands of some of our slave traders or their assistants, and either have to bear an endless separation from all that were dear to them, or to have them for the companions of their sufferings.

TURNING from the country of the people who have so long been made miserable by our means, and taking a view of the islands and provinces where they were mostly carried ; how have they been made to exchange conditions ? In those plantations where the helpless Africans used chiefly to dig and labour, they have been visited with the dreadful calamities which they themselves occasioned ; and burning of towns and houses, and all the fears and horrors of intestine war, have been lately as common on the coast of America as we made it on the coast of Africa. And the same spirit of discord which we spread among the poor people of that country, has taken place among those by whom they were held in slavery ; and whatever their future situation may be, legal liberty has, with many of our slave holders, been exchanged for a state of dependence on a power as absolute over them as that was, which they themselves had so long been accustomed to exercise over others.

AMONG the first of our total losses of dominion, was that little island in which we made the bad use of our power over the helpless Caribbes. They have

have now been again some time under the government of the French nation, who allowed them to possess in security and peace, a certain extent of those antient rights which we invaded; and by their being thus delivered from that government over them, which we allowed to be so much abused, those of them that survived our dishonourable war against them, may learn this necessary lesson. That it is not any lasting benefit which the stronger party gains, by the wrong they do to those that cannot resist them: and that when the most powerful people refuse justice to the most helpless, they need never despair of being relieved;—that there is a government above the highest on earth, and by a way that they cannot foresee or think of, the weakest people can be taken out of the hands of those that injured them, and from whose hands they sought for redress in vain. And this little poor heathen people may by this learn to teach their sons, not to desire other people's lands or wrong any that cannot defend themselves; for that the people of Great Britain desired their lands, and took from them as much as they pleased, after killing many of their fathers in doing so; but it was not long after they had refused to do them justice, for all the wrong the people of that great nation had done them, till the whole island was taken from Great Britain herself; and the men that came to kill them and take their lands were soon obliged to give up their own, and that they had seen them sent away from their island, as unable to help themselves as the weakest people could be.

FRANCE claimed the people of Corsica for her subjects, England by a much better title did the same thing as to the people of America. From Great Britain supplies were sent to the Corsicans when they were in arms against France; a few years after, France sent supplies to the people of America, when they were in arms against Great Britain, and for which we accused France with acting an unjust part. We took the leader of the Corsicans under our protection, and supported him at the public expence; a few years after we received the return of this conduct from France, by her countenance and public regard shewn to the leaders of the Americans.

As a nation possessed of the power, at that time, to have delivered the people of Corsica out of the hands of France, we left them to suffer the last injuries which the people of one country could receive at the hand of another. This conduct is returned to us in that of all Europe, who in the war that is carrying on against us, leave us as we left Corsica.

THE assistance we gave to Russia against Turkey, has been returned to us by the aid which Holland, with no less justice, gave to France and Spain, in carrying on the war against us.

THE aid we gave to Russia in going against Turkey, contributed to that necessity under which the Turkish nation was laid to make peace with Russia, and to have the king and people of Poland at the mercy of the three nations, who have since taken so much of that country as their own, we were the assistant of the wrong doer, and we are now receiving the return of that treatment, which we shewed ourselves willing the king and people of Poland should receive from Russia, Prussia and Austria.—France, Spain, and Holland, have been endeavouring to return us measure for measure, by taking the side which would deprive this country of its dominions in America, as much against right as those of Poland were taken from the king and people of that country.

THE abuse we made of our naval superiority, by the injuries we did, and the insults we offered to the other maritime states, has been followed by such an increase of their power, as to leave us now in a state, in which we have nearly as much to fear as they used to have cause to apprehend from us.

AND we who have had it so much in our power to acquaint the rest of mankind with the truths of revelation, and who have been so remiss in doing it, appear in our public conduct as a nation, to have been deprived ourselves, in a considerable degree, of the beneficial knowledge of those principles and rules of conduct which we have in our own possession.

OUR conduct as a people may be briefly compared with a few of these discoveries.

KEEPING in view our conduct in India, as having its beginning in deceit, and considering the millions of property of which we have *spoiled* the people of that part of the world; what nation would have been guilty of that conduct, if as a nation it had been under any real sense, that it is at all times to be said with truth to every nation;—"Woe to thee that spoilest, and thou wast not spoiled; and dealest treacherously, and they dealt not treacherously with thee: when thou shalt cease to spoil, thou shalt be spoiled; and when thou shalt make an end to deal treacherously, they shall deal treacherously with thee." ISAIAH, xxxiii. 1. And of this truth we are made the example: we have been as much deceived, by the previous steps that were taken to the present war, as we were guilty of deceiving the people of India; and in spite of ourselves we have been spoiled of as much property by the present

war,

war, as we spoiled the people of India of in the wars we carried on among them.

What nation would take the people of any other country away by force as their slaves, was it not hid from them, that it is true that,—“ He that leadeth into captivity shall go into captivity.” REVELATION, xiii. 10. And what nation would have allowed its subjects to have done, what the subjects of this country have done, and for which they remain unpunished, that was persuaded of its being true, that,—“ He that killeth with the sword must be killed with the sword.” and, “ Because thou hast spoiled many nations, all the remnants of the people shall spoil thee : because of mens blood, and for the violence of the land, of the city, and of all that dwell therein.” HABAKKUK, ii. 8.

THE account that is here given of our conduct, and of the events that have followed it, are very imperfectly stated ; but it is the facts-themselves that are to be regarded, and whoever calmly considers the several branches of our national proceedings within the age in which we are living, comparing the treatment which the people of other countries have received at our hands with the events that have befallen ourselves, it appears to go a great way to prove by the agreement of the one with the other, that,—“ With what judgment you judge, ye shall be judged : and with what a measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again.” MATTHEW, vii. 2. And though the human mind may not always be impressed with the truth and certainty of this, in the midst of public business, and the pursuit of favourite objects ; yet certainly we do not do justice to ourselves, to leave the history of mankind till we have satisfied ourselves once for all, whether this conclusion is with certainty to be drawn from it or not.

IF in fact and in the sober experience of mankind, taken for ages together, it is not true, that individuals acting by themselves in the society in which they live ; or whole societies or nations in their conduct to other societies, have not met with the returns of their own conduct, it is certainly then meanness to pretend in private life, that we think ourselves under any restraint from the principles and rules of which these are a part ; and that it is equally becoming when we take a share in public life, to avow what we mean, and unite with the society to which we belong, in declaring by our conduct, and the subsequent approval of it, that we are too well informed to fear or regard any consequences that may arise, when we judge it expedient to deceive the people of any

other country in our negotiations ; or when we have the upper hand, and it will answer our purpose to force tens of thousands into slavery, oppress and destroy millions ; deprive foreign princes of their just dominions, and plunder whole nations of all that we can bring away from them.—Once agreed with ourselves that it is a dream, and an idle tale, that men or nations are ever to meet with any after-reckoning or return for their conduct, then it is acting consistent with ourselves to declare,—that those that go out from us do great and meritorious services, when they bring back millions by the same right that robbers take their booty, and acquire whole provinces by perfidy and murder. All this being so, then let our public acts, and the reports of our national proceedings, proclaim to all mankind and to all future ages, the undisguised sentiments of the present ; and let all that will unite in this or any other nation to oppress, enslave, deceive, plunder and destroy the people of any other country but their own, have all the countenance and support which the sanction of our repeated example can give them.

BUT if we must either shut our eyes to all the information that is handed down to us from former ages, or acknowledge that it is no less true than it is reasonable, that it should be rendered to every man and every nation according to their deeds, (ROMANS, ii. 6.) and that this truth is as plainly indicated to us as any thing can well be, by the history of our own conduct, and of the events that have produced the change that has taken place in our circumstances as a nation within our own time ; we may then enquire, Whether we have yet reaped all we sown, (GALATIANS, vi. 7.) or how much we have yet to suffer, if rapine, oppression, and plunder, is to be exacted of us in equal measure ; and if we are to pay back to the rest of the world, blood for blood, slave for slave, life for life.

WITHOUT going back beyond the memory of the age in which we live, for an account of the numbers that have been destroyed in the course of our trade and wars, to advance our interests and increase our possessions ; great as the numbers are that we have already lost in the war in which we are engaged, the largest estimate on our side will not exceed a score, for a thousand of those that we have carried away into slavery, starved, driven away from their native countries, or destroyed in them.

BUT we have peace with America, peace with the Dutch, and France and Spain shall soon sue for our favour, and he that says we have any thing more to fear, is not a friend to his country.

It makes no part of this poor labour to attempt to damp any man's well-grounded hopes let them run as high as they will; but no individual can think it becoming to say that the day of our danger is over, when we have seen for a succession of years the gravest deliberations of public assemblies, repeatedly end in the very reverse of what was intended and expected from their resolutions. And with all that is due to the bravery of our national forces, the events that have taken place since the commencement of the present war have been such, as to make those whose stations give them the best opportunity of information of the comparative strength, speak with the utmost caution on the subject of future success. And with all that is due to our civil magistrates, after what we have seen of the power which a rude mob possessed for a short season in the very seat of government, it would be unbecoming in any man to say we shall have a continuance for a week, of that safety and protection which our laws and magistrates have been so long the means of giving us. And indeed every man that only reflects, that he dare not assure himself that he shall dip the pen he now holds in his hand again in the ink before him, will both think and speak with great diffidence of what may be to-morrow.

BUT of this there is no uncertainty; whatever is a man's station, whether he is at the head of a private family, or is taking a part in the public measures of the society of which he is a member—all that is done from wrong principles, be it in private or in public, it leads to difficulties, distress, and if continued in, to ruin; and many times the most sincere change of the principles of acting from wrong to right, is too late adopted to escape much of the consequences of that conduct which proceeded from those principles, and which, when reduced to practice, would disorder a private family, a city, a nation, and put in motion by the powers of a great society would disorder the world, and therefore to be punished by the governor of it, to prevent that reproach which would lay against the government of a nation that allowed one part of its subjects to oppress or destroy one another without redress.

CONTRARY consequences have evidently, with equal uniformity, followed that conduct which was begun in contrary principles and persevered in: and whatever difficulty there is, for those that know so little, to be satisfied in a thousand things we see in the government of the world, and of what is daily taking place among mankind, there is no degree of uncertainty in this—that He whose will can plan, and whose power made all things, and whose wisdom, power, and justice governs his rational and accountable creatures,

is Himself the protector of all that is in itself agreeable to his nature and his will; and tho' mankind are capable of doing the highest degree of wickedness, they are also capable of obeying the influence of that truth, justice, and goodness, which is continually flowing from God, as the source and fountain of all that is true, just, and good in the human mind all the world over; and that conduct which begins in these principles, and continues to be regulated in the spirit of them, is that conduct which hath alone nothing to fear, at no time, under no circumstances, from all the wiles and force which can be used against them.

OFTEN has it been the case, that nations, who upon the whole were most criminal, have been made use of to punish severely those that were less guilty, but who offended in their general conduct against much clearer discoveries of the principles from which they were required to act, and there can be no greater security arising from the comparative criminality of nations, than there is in the case of individuals, who have exposed themselves to different degrees of punishment from the same laws.

FEW things can at once be more pleasing and useful than to observe in the history of nations exposed to imminent dangers, than the progress of the spirit of that conduct, by which they were substantially reformed and saved from ruin.—Calling for the injured (2 SAMUEL, xxi. 1. &c.) doing them effectual justice, relieving the oppressed, and utterly abolishing what was contrary to the rights of others, have been among the measures by which the true public spirit hath shewn itself. HE that rules the whole rules for the good of all, and it cannot be but they that imitate HIM most, must be most highly favoured of HIM.

S U N D R Y P A P E R S.

The following account is given of our conduct in India.

“ I T has always been a most arduous task to govern distant provinces, with even a tolerable appearance of justice. The viceroys and governors of other nations are usually temporary tyrants, who think themselves obliged to make the most of their time ; who not only plunder the people, but carry away their spoils, and dry up all the sources of commerce and industry. Taxation in their hands, is an unlimited power of oppression : but in whatever hands the power of taxation is lodged, it implies and includes all other powers. Arbitrary taxation is plunder authorised by law : It is the support and the essence of tyranny ; and has done more mischief to mankind, than those other three scourges from heaven, famine, pestilence, and the sword. I need not carry your Lordships out of your own knowledge, or out of your own dominions, to make you conceive what misery this right of taxation is capable of producing in a provincial government. We need only recollect that our countrymen in India, have in the space of five or six years, in virtue of this right, destroyed the country and driven away more inhabitants from Bengal, than are to be found at present in all our American Colonies ; more than all those formidable

midable numbers which we have been nursing up for the space of 200 years, with so much care and success, to the astonishment of all Europe. This is no exaggeration, my Lords, but plain matter of fact collected from the accounts sent over by Mr. Hastings, whose name I mention with honour and veneration. And I must own, such accounts have very much lessened the pleasure I used to feel in thinking myself an Englishman.”†

* *April 10.* General *Burgoyne*, who brought up the report of the Select Committee appointed to enquire into the state of *East-India* affairs, after explaining the disagreeable situation in which he stood, declared, that there were accounts of crimes contained in the report shocking to human nature. He recapitulated all that related to the deposition of *Surajah Dowlab*, and the placing of *Meer Jaffier* on the Musnud; the double treaty in which *Omichund* was concerned; and the infamous transactions that were carried into execution by perfidy and murder. He concluded by proposing the following resolutions:

1. That all acquisitions made under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, do of right belong to the state.
2. That to appropriate acquisitions acquired under the influence of a military force, or by treaty with foreign powers, to private use, is illegal.
3. That great sums of money have been obtained by such means from the sovereign princes in *India*.

April 19. General *Burgoyne* continued his report of the Select Committee; and, after recapitulating the many atrocious offences committed in *India* by the servants of the Company, in monopolies, extortions, taxations, and oppressions of various kinds, he at length came to consider the wretched situation of the *Indian* Princes, who held their dignities on the precarious condition of being the highest bribers. No claim (he said) could be admitted, unless prefaced by enormous sums of rupees; nor any prince suffered to reign long who did not quadruple with this idea. Gifts thus obtained, under the influence of military force, have already, by the resolutions of this House, been declared illegal; he therefore concluded his speech in declaring, that he intended to propose the following resolution:

“That the Right Honourable *Robert Lord Clive*, Baron of *Plassey*, in the kingdom of *Ireland*, in consequence of the powers vested in him in *India*, had
“ illegally

† A speech published in 1774.

* Parliamentary Debates. Vol. X. page 261

“ illegally acquired the sum of two hundred and thirty-four thousand pounds,
 “ to the dishonour and detriment of the state.”

THIS motion was seconded by Sir *William Meredith*, who spoke as follows.

‘ Mr. Speaker, as I had the honour to second the motion for an enquiry
 ‘ into *East India* affairs last year, I now rise to second a motion, which is
 ‘ nothing more than to give effect to that enquiry.

‘ THERE is a Noble Lord who has been a principal actor on this stage,
 ‘ whose knowledge is as perfect as his reports are true ; and this noble person,
 ‘ in one of his letters to the Directors, tells them, “ that every spring of this
 “ government is smeared with corruption ; that principles of rapacity and op-
 “ pression universally prevail, and that every spark of public sentiment, and
 “ public virtue is lost and extinguished in the unbounded lust of unmerited
 “ wealth.”

‘ AFTER this evidence, Sir, are we to establish this corruption ; give line and
 ‘ scope to this spirit of rapacity ; and gratify this unbounded lust of unmerited
 ‘ wealth ?

‘ THE constitution of the present government of *Bengal* is defined to be an
 ‘ union of the sovereign and merchant ; and Mr. *Vanfittart* informs us how
 ‘ these merchant sovereigns exercise their supreme power. For he says, their
 ‘ rule of selling is to take as much as they please, and the rule by which they
 ‘ buy is to pay as little as they please.

‘ BY all that we read in tale or history, never did such a system exist as that
 ‘ where mercantile avarice was the only principle, and force the only means
 ‘ of carrying on a government. Comparisons of other tyrannies give no idea
 ‘ of *English* tyranny in *Bengal*. For it has been the province of tyrants to
 ‘ use their iron rods over the great and powerful ; over men who became for-
 ‘ midable for their virtues, or whose riches were provocatives to their avarice ;
 ‘ the bulk of their people might live in quiet ; the low and humble man, the
 ‘ labourer and the mechanic, were beneath the tyrant’s stroke. But in *Bengal*
 ‘ the rich and poor fare alike. They who have lands are dispossessed ; if mo-
 ‘ ney, ’tis extorted : if the mechanic has a loom, his manufacture is cut out ;
 ‘ if he has grain, ’tis carried off ; if he is suspected of having any secret trea-
 ‘ sure, he is put to the torture to discover it.—One is therefore at a loss for
 ‘ words to describe the sort of tyranny that is practised in *Bengal*. Monsters
 ‘ as tyrants are, they are but rare monsters ; and very rare indeed, such as
 ‘ have been hardened against all fear of punishment, and all sense of shame.

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‘ For the actions of monarchs are not for the comment of the present times—
 ‘ alone: the fear, therefore, of making their memories infamous, as well as
 ‘ their lives odious, together with the fear of resistance, has often served as
 ‘ fetters to a tyrant’s will. But our countrymen in Bengal are free from all
 ‘ these apprehensions; they have no resistance to fear from a poor disarmed
 ‘ people, inured to slavery, and broken to oppression.

‘ Our enquiries have still left a wide field of events undiscovered—The re-
 ‘ ports on your table, voluminous as they are, (if I may use the words of our
 ‘ great poet) give

“ No light—But rather darknefs visible

“ Serves only to discover fights of woe.”

‘ How we came by this territory, may God forgive us! But believing there
 ‘ is a God above us, I believe also, that acquisitions made by shedding the
 ‘ blood of innocent princes, and by wringing from an innocent people their
 ‘ substance, can never prosper.

‘ It is not the cause of one man only, but of millions, that lies before us:
 ‘ if the controul of the English laws cannot extend to the East-Indies, I cannot
 ‘ conceive that there is any method under Heaven to prevent rapine, extortion,
 ‘ and every possible species of oppression there, unless this House determines
 ‘ that the spoils of that unhappy country shall not be enjoyed without en-
 ‘ quiry here.

‘ No man wishes more than I do to avoid making examples, if any thing
 ‘ but examples can be thought effectual. But the facts are now before us;
 ‘ and if we give our sanction to what is past, we give at the same time our
 ‘ sanction and our encouragement to all that avarice can still dictate, and to
 ‘ all that force can still inflict on the wretched inhabitants of Bengal.’

May 3. This matter was resumed.—Colonel *Burgoyne* entered into, and explained, what had struck him upon the whole of the evidence delivered to the Select Committee, of which he was chairman. The question was then put,

‘ THAT *Robert Lord Clive* abused the powers with which he was entrusted,
 ‘ to the evil example of the servants of the public.’

Mr. *Stanley*

Mr. *Stanley* then got up, and moved the previous question, which was, “Whether that question should be then put?”—It passed in the negative without a division.

THE following resolution was then proposed :

“THAT *Robert Lord Clive* did, at the same time, render great and meritorious services to this country.” Passed unanimously in the affirmative.

PAPERS *relative to our* TREATMENT *of the* PEOPLE of AFRICA.

THAT part of Africa from whence the people are brought, which we make our slaves, commonly known by the name of Guinea, extends along the coast, in the whole between three and four thousand miles. From the river Senegal, (seventeen degrees North of the line) to Cape Sierra Leona, it contains seven hundred miles. Thence it runs Eastward about fifteen hundred miles, including the Grain-Coast, the Ivory-Coast, the Gold-Coast, and the Slave-Coast, with the large kingdom of Benin. From thence it runs Southward, about twelve hundred miles, and contains the kingdoms of Congo and Angola.

CONCERNING the first, the Senegal coast, *Monf. Brue*, who lived there sixteen years, after describing its fruitfulness near the sea, says, “The farther you go from the sea, the more fruitful and well-improved is the country, abounding in pulse, Indian corn, and various fruits. Here are vast meadows, which feed large herds of great and small cattle. And the villages, which lie thick, shew the country is well peopled.” And again : “I was surprized to see the land so well cultivated ; scarce a spot lay unimproved : The low lands divided by small canals, were all sowed with rice ; the higher grounds were planted with Indian corn, and pease of different sorts. Their beef is excellent, poultry plenty and very cheap, as are all the necessaries of life.

As to the grain and ivory coast, the soil is in general fertile, producing abundance of rice and roots. Indigo and cotton thrive without cultivation. Fish is in great plenty; the flocks and herds are numerous, and the trees loaden with fruit.

THE gold coast and slave coast, is fruitful and pleasant, producing rice and other grain, plenty of fruit and roots, palm-wine, and oil, and fish in abundance, with much tame and wild cattle. The same account is given in general of the soil and produce of the kingdoms of Benin, Congo and Angola. From all which it appears, that Guinea is so far from being a dreary, barren country, that it is among the most fruitful, as well as the most pleasant countries in the world. It is said indeed to be unhealthy. And so it is to strangers, but it is healthy to the native inhabitants.

SUCH is the country from which we obtain our slaves. We come next to enquire, what sort of men they are: those who have lived in the Senegal country observe, it is inhabited by three nations, the Jalofs, Fulis, and Mandingos. The king of the Jalofs has under him several ministers, who assist in the exercise of justice. The chief justice goes in circuit through all his dominions, to hear complaints and determine controversies. And the viceroy goes with him, to inspect the behaviour of the Alkadi, or governor of each village. The Fuli's are governed by their chief men, who rule with much moderation. Few of them will drink any thing stronger than water, being strict Mahometans. The government is easy, because the people are of a good and quiet disposition; and so well instructed in what is right, that a man who wrongs another is the abomination of all.—They desire no more land than they use, which they cultivate with great care and industry: If any of them are known to be made slaves by the white men they all join to redeem them. They not only support all that are old, or blind, or lame among themselves; but have frequently supplied the necessities of the Mandingos, when they were distressed by famine.

THE Mandingos, says Monsr. Brue, are rigid Mahometans, drinking neither wine nor brandy. They are industrious and laborious, keeping their ground well cultivated, and breeding a good stock of cattle. Every town has a governor, and he appoints the labour of the people. The men work the ground designed for corn; the women and girls, the rice-ground. He afterwards divides the corn and rice among them: and decides all quarrels, if any arise. All the Mahometan Negroes constantly go to public prayers
thrice

thrice a day : there being a priest in every village, who regularly calls them together : and it is surprizing to see the modesty, attention and reverence which they observe during their worship.

It was of these parts of Guinea, that Mons. Adanson, Correspondent of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris from 1749 to 1753, gives the following account, both as to the country and people. "Which way soever I turned my eyes, I beheld a perfect image of pure nature : an agreeable solitude, bounded on every side by a charming landscape ; the rural situation of cottages, in the midst of trees ; the ease and quietness of the negroes, with the simplicity of their dress and manners : the whole revived in my mind the idea of our first parents, and I seemed to contemplate the world in its primitive state. They are generally-speaking, very good-natured, sociable and obliging. I was not a little pleased with my very first reception, and it fully convinced me, that there ought to be a considerable abatement made, in the accounts we have of the savage character of the Africans." He adds, "It is amazing that an illiterate people should reason so pertinently concerning the heavenly bodies.

THE inhabitants of the grain and ivory coast are represented by those that deal with them, as sensible, courteous, and the fairest traders on the coast of Guinea. They rarely drink to excess : if any do, they are severely punished by the king's order. They are seldom troubled with war : if a difference happen between two nations, they commonly end the dispute amicably.

The inhabitants of the gold and slave-coast likewise, when they are not artfully incensed against each other, live in great union and friendship, being generally well-tempered, civil, tractable, and ready to help any that need it. In particular, the natives of the kingdom of Whidah are civil, kind, and obliging to strangers. And they are the most gentleman-like of all the negroes, abounding in good manners toward each other. The inferiors pay the utmost respect to their superiors : so wives to their husbands. children to their parents. And they are remarkably industrious : all are employed ; the men in agriculture, the women in spinning and weaving cotton.

THE gold and slave coasts are divided into several districts, some governed by kings, others by the principal men, who take care each of their own town or village, and prevent or appease tumults. They punish murder and adultery severely ; theft and robbery are punished by a fine proportionable to the goods that were taken,—All the natives of this coast, though heathens, believe there

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is one God, the author of them and all things. They appear likewise to have a confused apprehension of a future state. And accordingly every town and village has a place of public worship.—It is remarkable that they have no beggars among them : such is the care of the chief men, in every city and village, to provide some easy labour, even for the old and weak. Some are employed in blowing the smiths bellows ; others in pressing palm-oil ; others in grinding of colours. If they are too weak even for this, they sell provisions in the market.

THE natives of the kingdom of Eenin are a reasonable and a good-natured people. They are inoffensive, to one another and to strangers : they are just and honest in their dealings ; and are also very charitable : so that here also are no beggars. The inhabitants of Congo and Angola are generally a quiet people. They discover a good understanding, and behave in a friendly manner to strangers, being of a mild temper and an affable carriage. These are the representations given of the negroes who inhabit the coast of Africa, by them who had no motive to flatter them.

WE have now seen, what kind of country it is, from which the negroes are brought : and what sort of people they are in their own country. In what manner are they generally procured, carried to, and treated in the dominions of this kingdom, is next to be enquired.

IT was about 1551, that the English began trading to Guinea : at first, for gold and elephants teeth, but soon after, for men. In 1566, Sir John Hawkins sailed with two ships to Cape Verd, where he sent eighty men on shore to catch negroes. But the natives flying, they fell farther down, and there set the men on shore, “ to burn their towns and take the inhabitants.” But they met with such resistance, that they had seven men killed, and took but ten negroes. So they went still farther down, till having taken enough, they proceeded to the West Indies and sold them.

IT was some time before the Europeans found a more compendious way of procuring African slaves, by prevailing upon them to make war upon each other, and to sell their prisoners. Till then they seldom had any wars : but were in general quiet and peaceable : the white men taught them drunkenness and avarice, and then hired them to sell one another. Nay, by this means, even their kings are induced to sell their own subjects. So Mr. Moore (factor of the African company in 1730) informs us, “ When the king of Barfalli wants goods or brandy, he sends to the English governor at James’ Fort, who

who immediately sends a sloop. Against the time it arrives, he plunders some of his neighbours towns, selling the people for the goods he wants. At other times he falls upon one of his own towns, and sells his own subjects." So Monf. Brue says, "I wrote to the king (not the same) if he had a sufficient number of slaves, I would treat with him. He seized three hundred of his own people, and sent word he was ready to deliver them for the goods." He adds, "Some of the natives are always ready, (when well paid) to surprize and carry off their own countrymen. They come at night without noise, and if they find any lone cottage, surround it, and carry off the people."—Barbot, (another French factor) says, "Many of the slaves sold by the Negroes are prisoners of war, or taken in the incursions they make into their enemies territories. Others are stolen. Abundance of little Blacks of both sexes, are stolen away by their neighbours, when found abroad on the road, or in the woods or fields.

To set the manner wherein Negroes are procured, in a yet stronger light, it will suffice to give an extract of two voyages to Guinea on this account.—The first is taken verbatim from the original manuscript of the Surgeon's Journal.

Sestro, Dec. 29, 1724. No trade to-day, though many traders came on board. They informed us, that the people are gone to war within land, and will bring prisoners enough in two or three days; in hopes of which we stay.

"The 30th. No trade yet: but our traders came on board to-day, and informed us the people had burnt four towns: So that to-morrow we expect slaves off.

"The 31st. Fair weather, but no trading yet. We see each night towns burning. But we hear many of the Sestro men are killed by the inland Negroes; so that we fear this war will be unsuccessful.

"The 2d of January. Last night we saw a prodigious fire break out about eleven o'clock, and this morning see the town of Sestro burnt down to the ground." (It contained some hundred houses.) "So that we find their enemies are too hard for them at present, and consequently our trade spoiled. Therefore about seven o'clock we weighed anchor, to proceed lower down."

The second extract, taken from the journal of a surgeon, who went from New-York on the same trade, is as follows. "The commander of the vessel sent to acquaint the king, that he wanted a cargo of slaves. The king promised to furnish him, and in order to do it, set out, designing to surprize some town,

town, and make all the people prisoners. Some time after, the king sent him word, he had not yet met with the desired success: having attempted to break up two towns, but having been twice repulsed: but that he still hoped to procure the number of slaves. In this design he persisted, 'till he met his enemies in the field. A battle was fought, which lasted three days. And the engagement was so bloody, that four thousand five hundred men were slain upon the spot." Such is the manner wherein the negroes are procured!

THUS they are procured. But in what numbers, and in what manner are they carried to America?—Mr. Anderson in his History of Trade and Commerce, observes, " England supplies her American colonies with Negro-slaves, amounting in number to about an hundred thousand every year." That is, so many are taken on board our ships; but at least ten thousand of them die in the voyage: about a fourth part more die at the different islands, in what is called the seasoning. So that at an average, in the passage and seasoning together, thirty thousand die; that is, properly are murdered.

WHEN they are brought down to the shore, in order to be sold, our surgeons examine them. Those that are approved are set on one side. In the mean time a burning iron, with the arms or name of the company, lies in the fire, with which they are marked on the breast. Before they are put into the ships, their masters strip them of all they have on their backs; so that they came on board naked. It is common for several hundreds of them to be put on board one vessel, where they are stowed together.

WHEN the vessels arrive at their destined port, the Negroes are again exposed to the examination of their purchasers: then they are separated to the plantations of their several masters, to see each other no more. Here you may see mothers hanging over their daughters, and daughters clinging to their parents, till the whipper soon obliges them to part. And what can be more wretched than the condition they then enter upon? Banished from their country, from their friends, and relations for ever.

As to the punishments inflicted on them, says Sir Hans Sloan, " they frequently chop off half a foot: after they are whipped till they are raw all over, some put pepper and salt upon them: some drop melted wax upon their skin. Others cut off their ears, and oblige them to broil and eat them. For rebellion," (that is, asserting their native liberty, which they have as much right to as the air they breathe) " they fasten them down to the ground
with

with crooked sticks on every limb, and then applying fire by degrees, to the feet and hands, they burn them gradually to the head."

IN order to rivet the chain of slavery, the law of Virginia ordains, "That no slave shall be set free, upon any pretence whatever, except for some meritorious services, to be adjudged and allowed by the governor and council: and that where any slave shall be set free by his owner, otherwise than is herein directed, the churchwardens of the parish wherein such negro shall reside for the space of one month, are hereby authorised and required, to take up and sell the said negro, by public outcry."

THE law of Jamaica ordains, "Every slave that shall run away, and continue absent from his master twelve months, shall be deemed rebellious:" and by another law, "fifty pounds are allowed, to those who kill or bring in alive a rebellious slave."

BUT the law of Barbadoes exceeds even this: "If any negro under punishment, by his master, or his order, for running away, or any other crime or misdemeanor, shall suffer in life or member, no person whatever shall be liable to any fine therefore. But if any man of *wantonness*, or only of *bloody-mindedness* or *cruel intention*, willfully kill a negro of his own," "He shall pay into the public treasury fifteen pounds sterling and not be liable to any other punishment or forfeiture for the same."

Nearly allied to this is that law of Virginia: "After proclamation is issued against slaves that run away, it is lawful for any person whatsoever to *kill and destroy* such slaves, by *such ways and means as he shall think fit*.*

A PARTICULAR state of that trade lies now before me, whereby it appears, that the "number of negro slaves bartered for in one year, (viz. 1768.) on the coast of Africa from Cape Blanco to Rio Congo," amounted to 104,100 souls; whereof more than half (viz. 53,100) were shipped on the account of British merchants, and 6,300 on the account of British Americans.

By another state of this trade in 1771, it appears that ships were sent from

Liverpool for	29,250
Bristol for	8,810
London for	8,136
Lancaster for	950

In all for 47,146 souls

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exclusive

* Thoughts on the slave trade by the Rev. Mr. Wesley.

exclusive of those imported by British American and West Indian traders, which in that year were probably very considerable, because in the following year (1772) several of the North American provinces began to be alarmed for the dangerous consequences of tolerating such an unchristian-like practice, which sentiment was fully expressed in some of their public assemblies, especially in those of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Jerseys. In some former years the subjects of Great Britain seem to have had still a much greater proportion of this trade to answer for ! my worthy friend Mr. Anthony Benezet, in his historical account of Guinea, (c. xiii. p. 130.) cites Anderson's history of trade and commerce, to the following effect, viz. " That England supplies her American colonies with negro slaves, amounting in number to above *one hundred thousand every year.*"

Now if we consider what " multitudes of men must have been killed merely in the attempt to take so many wretched captives for sale ; and again what multitudes, out of so large a number, would die, as usual, in their passage to the West Indies and America either of grief or despair ; besides the large proportion (nearly one half) that would die of the seasoning, (as it is called) after their arrival in the plantations ; and lastly that all the remainder of this vast multitude of miserable human beings will probably be worn out by hard service and oppression in the space of about 16 years, or less, according to the average rate of some calculations that have been published. These considerations must needs inspire us with indignation and horror."

Extract of a letter from a person in Maryland, to his friend in Philadelphia.

" I am so happy as to think as you do, with regard to trading in man, or keeping him a slave. The custom is wicked and iniquitous, neither consistent with reason, or the laws of God or man. Poor unhappy slaves, particularly those forced from their places of nativity, are most certainly deplorable objects of commiseration. I never bought more than two during twenty years residence here. One proved to be the son of an African prince ; he was a most comely youth : having observed his uncommon good parts, I sent him to school, and used him like a free man during his stay with me. The directors of the African company having enquired, and offered a reward for him, I by a public act presented the poor creature with his

‘ his freedom, gave him an order for the reward aforesaid, and sent him to
 ‘ London ; from whence the following year he remitted me the same sum he
 ‘ cost me, and sundry rich goods to the amount of three hundred pounds and
 ‘ upwards, and therewith a letter in his own native language.

‘ THE next I purchased was an unhappy lad, kidnapped from his free pa-
 ‘ rents at the taking of Guadaloupe. During his stay with me he decayed or
 ‘ pined so much, and expressed so sensible a sorrow of cruel separation from
 ‘ his aged parents, relations, and countrymen, that actuated by the unerring
 ‘ good providence which directs us in all our good deeds, I likewise set this
 ‘ poor creature free, and sent him to his native place. Providence again
 ‘ would not excuse my being further rewarded, for performing this my duty
 ‘ as a christian. The truly honest father, from the produce of his plantations,
 ‘ has made me presents to the amount of fifty pounds sterling, with direction
 ‘ to draw upon him for the full cost of the poor youth, which I do never intend,
 ‘ being more than paid by presents.

‘ I write this to convince you that the inhabitants of Africa are not such
 ‘ senseless brutish creatures as thoughtless authors represent them to be : they
 ‘ undoubtedly are capable of receiving instruction, and far out-do christians in
 ‘ many commendable virtues. Poor creatures ! their greatest unhappiness is
 ‘ being acquainted with christians.’

‘ The following is a letter from the Negro Prince, some time after he arrived
 ‘ at London, to his master in Maryland. Translated by Dr. Defaguillier,
 ‘ of Cambridge, 1743.

From the great city, 3d moon after my release.

‘ O MY kind merciful master, my good white brother, too good, a very
 ‘ good son of a good woman, and of a very good old man, created good old
 ‘ people by the *great spirit*, who made my country, thy poor (I should say
 ‘ heretofore poor) most grateful black prisoner, now rendered rich by thy
 ‘ goodness and mercy, is now most dead, most drunk, most mad with joy !
 ‘ why is he so ? because he is going to his good warm country, to his good
 ‘ old mother, to his good old father, to his little sister and his brother. In
 ‘ my good warm country all things are good, except the white people who live
 ‘ there,

' there, and come in flying-houfes, to take away poor black prifoners from
 ' their mothers, their fathers, their fifters and brothers, to kill them with hun-
 ' ger and filth, in the cellars of their flying-houfes, wherein if they do not die
 ' faft enough, and poor prifoners talk for bread and water, and want to feel the wind,
 ' and fee the *Great Spirit*, to complain to him, to tell him all, or to fee the trees
 ' of his country once more for the laft time; the king of the white people [*probably*
 ' *the negro meant the captain*] orders the officer called Jack, to kill many of the
 ' black prifoners, with whips, with ropes, knives, axes and falt. The gover-
 ' nor of thy flying-houfe has been to fhew that which is to carry me and him
 ' to my good warm country; I am glad, very glad indeed! He goes there
 ' with wine. Should he be fick, (and white people feldom efcape being fo
 ' there) becaufe of thee my kind merciful mafter, and good white brother, and
 ' becaufe he has been good to me, and is a very good white man too, I will
 ' nurfie him myfelf, my mother, my father, my little fifter, and my brother
 ' fhall be his brother, his mother, his father, and his fifter too; he fhall have
 ' one large heap of elephants teeth and gold, for thee my kind merciful mafter,
 ' and kind brother, and one for himfelf alfo, (but fmaller.) He at prefent is
 ' my father, I eat at his houfe, and lie there too upon the bed thou prefented
 ' me with. His woman is my mother, and kindly nurfes me, being very fick
 ' of the fea, and fire made of black ftones. I have received a great quantity
 ' of gold, befides what thou did prefent me with by means of thy hand writ-
 ' ing, to the people who are to fend me to my country, fome part whereof
 ' have given to the governor of thy swimming-houfe, to be fend to thee; had I
 ' an houfeful, fhould fend the whole with equal pleafure; however, thou
 ' fhalt fee hereafter, that black people are not beafts, and do know how to be
 ' grateful. After thou, my kind merciful mafter and good white brother left
 ' me in thy swimming-houfe, we thy white people, and we thy grateful black
 ' prifoners, were by the *Great Spirit*, who was angry with us, fend by the wind
 ' into an immense great river, where we had like to have been drowned, and
 ' where we could fee neither fun nor moon for fix days and nights. I was
 ' dying during one whole moon; the governor was my father, and gave me
 ' thofe good things thou prefented me with on my bed; he lodged me in the
 ' little room thy carpenter built for me. Thou gave me more cloaths than I
 ' could carry, yet I was very cold; nothing availed with poor black prifoner, till
 ' at laft having the *Great Spirit* to fend me fafe to thy houfe on fhore, I thought
 ' I was carried there, [*this appears to have been a dream*] where thou my good
 white

‘ white brother did use me with wonted goodnefs, fpake to *the great fpirit* and
 ‘ to his *fon*, that I might keep fo during the voyage and afterwards, which they
 ‘ have done fo for thy fake; they will always do me good becaufe of thee my
 ‘ good white brother; therefore my kind merciful matter, do not forget thy
 ‘ poor black prifoner. When thou doft fpeak to *the great fpirit* and to his
 ‘ *fon*, I do know he will hear thee, I fhall never be fick more, for which I fhall
 ‘ be thankful. Pray fpeak for my good old mother, my good father, my little
 ‘ fifter, and my brother; I wifh they may be healthy, to many very many
 ‘ moons, as many as the hairs on thy head; I love them all much, yet I
 ‘ think not fo much as I do thee, I could die in my country for thee, could
 ‘ I do thee any kindnefs. Indeed *the great fpirit* well knows I mean no lie,
 ‘ fhall always fpeak to him for thy good, believe me my good white bro-
 ‘ ther, thy poor black prifoner is not a liar.’ *

Dgiagola, fon of Dgiagola, Prince of Foat, Africa.

Sir William Blackftone fays, in his Commentaries, “THE three ori-
 gins of the right of flavery affigned by *Justinian*, are all built upon
 falfe foundations. 1. Slavery is faid to arife from captivity in war.
 The conqueror having a right to the life of his captive, if he fpare that, has
 then a right to deal with him as he pleafes. But this is untrue, if taken ge-
 nerally, that by the law of nations, a man has a right to kill his enemy.
 He has only a right to kill him in particular cafes, in cafes of abfolute necefs-
 fity for felf-defence. And it is plain, this abfolute necefsity did not fubfift,
 fince he did not kill him, but made him prifoner. War itfelf is juftifiable
 only on principles of felf-prefervation. Therefore it gives us no right over
 prifoners, but to hinder their hurting us by confining them. Much lefs can
 it give a right to torture, or kill, or even to enslave an enemy when the war
 is over. Since therefore the right of making our prifoners flaves, depends on
 a fuppofed right of flaughter, that foundation failing, the confequence which
 is drawn from it muft fail likewife.”

“IT is faid, fecondly, flavery may begin, by one man’s felling himfelf to
 another. And it is true, a man may fell himfelf to work for another: but
 he cannot fell himfelf to be a flave, as above defined. Every fale implies an
 equivalent

* From the writings of *Granville Sharpe*, Efq. on the Slave Trade.

equivalent given to the seller, in lieu of what he transfers to the buyer. But what equivalent can be given for life or liberty ? his property likewise, with the very price which he seems to receive, devolves *ipso facto* to his master, the instant he becomes his slave : in this case therefore the buyer gives nothing, and the seller receives nothing. Of what validity then can a sale be, which destroys the very principles upon which all sales are founded ?”

“ WE are told, thirdly, that men may be born slaves, by being the children of slaves. But this being built on the two former rights must fall together with them. If neither captivity, nor contract can by the plain law of nature and reason, reduce the parent to a state of slavery, much less can they reduce the offspring.”

*On the Treatment of the CARIBBES of St. VINCENT's.**

Mr. Thomas Townshend. ‘ I do not wish to trouble the house to-day if it is improper, but I hope on some future day the house will examine particularly into the expedition to St. Vincent, which to me, I confess, appears a breach of national honour.’

Mr. Alderman Trecothick. ‘ THE honourable gentleman over the way has very justly opened a matter which, in my poor opinion, deserves the serious consideration of parliament. I feel, Sir, for the honour of the British nation. I think it is at stake, while a scene of iniquity and cruelty is transacting at St. Vincent's on the defenceless natives, under the authority of *this* government. The poor Caribbes ! the last remains of the Aborigines from South America, are to be totally extirpated ! regiment after regiment is sent upon this disgraceful service. Let us know the cause of those hostilities against a defenceless, innocent, and inoffensive people ! About 40 years past, a ship loaded with negroes from the coast of Guinea was wrecked upon that island : it was a fortunate

* Parliamentary Debates, 1777, Vol. x. page 135.

fortunate accident for them: they incorporated with the natives; and against those you are exercising the barbarities of the Spaniards against the Mexicans! Sir, I hope this business will be enquired into in a serious manner, as I think it materially affects the honour of the British flag.

Mr. *Richard Whitworth*.—‘ I agree with the honourable gentleman behind me, that an enquiry should be made, as soon as possible, into the nature of a very extraordinary expedition, indeed, to the island of St. Vincent. I have received a letter from an intimate acquaintance, who is employed upon that dishonourable service; and he assures me, Sir, that the Caribbes are up in arms, and too well disciplined to be subdued without superior force. Before we pretend to extirpate those poor people, we should examine our right. The French only ceded part of the island to us; that part was their property, and they had a right to cede it; but what claim have we to the other? None! The French could not cede to us what they had not; they lived by treaty with those people and upon those conditions, I understand by the terms of the last peace, we are also to live with them; but I suppose some of our traders or planters have taken a fancy to their part of the island for country-houses to divert themselves, and to satisfy the rapacity of those adventurers, the British arms are to be employed, and the miserable natives are to be cruelly dispossessed of their habitations, and driven from their families and friends—the part where they live is divided only by a river, and nothing but the most wanton cruelty can induce us to dispossess the inoffending natives of their country.’

Feb. 10. The order of the day being read, for taking into farther consideration the affair of St. Vincent’s, Mr. T. Townshend moved, That Lieut. Generals Wooten and Trapaud be called in. The former was asked if he had received any accounts from his regiment? and answering in the negative, he was told he might withdraw.

Gen. *Trapaud* was asked the same question, and acknowledged he had. He was asked the date of his last letters. He said of the 14th of November, and received the 17th of December.

Mr. *Townshend* proposed, that if the General had received any letter of business, if the house had no objection, it might be read. The house consenting, the General read part of a letter, which was to this effect.

“ The

“ The mortality among the men is very great, owing to the heavy and
 “ continual rains which we have at this season. The poor Caribbes have
 “ been ill used. They act with great caution, and the woods are so thick,
 “ that they knock our men down with the greatest security to themselves,
 “ as it is impossible we can see them. We have only been able to penetrate
 “ four miles into the country. God knows how this pretty expedition will
 “ will end; all we hope for is, that the promoters and contrivers of it will be
 “ brought to a speedy and severe account.”

Feb. 12. The affair of St. Vincent's resumed. Governor *Gore* was called to the bar. He was asked in general as to the temper of the Caribbes. His answer was, that they were a quiet, well-disposed people. At what time he left the Grenades? In the year 1765.—If he had ever heard of any jealousies among them? None.—If he had ever heard that the planters envied them their lands? He said he had.

Mr. *T. Townshend*.—‘ It was my wish to have this business finished; and
 ‘ from the very moment I heard of this extraordinary expedition, I determined
 ‘ to make it a subject of parliamentary enquiry. It is a subject, however disre-
 ‘ garded at present, of the greatest importance to this nation. From the evi-
 ‘ dence at your bar, Sir, you have been told, and it is agreed on all hands, that
 ‘ the Caribbes were peaceable, till they were alarmed by the surveyors cutting
 ‘ roads into their country. They then opposed them, and surrounded a de-
 ‘ tachment of forty men sent, as a guard. They fired no shot, they used no
 ‘ violence, but relied on the faith of a promise made them, and returned
 ‘ peaceably to their habitations. I shall, therefore, make two motions; the
 ‘ one is, Sir, that the expedition to St. Vincent's was undertaken without suf-
 ‘ ficient provocation on the part of the Caribbes; and the other, Sir, is, that
 ‘ the expedition to St. Vincent's was undertaken at the instance of avaricious
 ‘ and interested men, and seems calculated to end in the total extirpation of
 ‘ these people.’

Lord *Folkstone*. ‘ Much having been said by the honourable gentleman
 ‘ who made the motion, on the iniquity of this transaction, there remains but
 ‘ little for me to add. I should have thought, Sir, that our generosity as Eng-
 ‘ lishmen, would have taught us to consider the liberty and property of others
 ‘ as sacred; but if that was insufficient, I should have thought motives of hu-
 ‘ manity might have restrained us from wanton and premeditated acts of
 ‘ cruelty upon a set of defenceless people. The only question upon the pre-
 sent

‘ sent subject that can direct us to a just determination, is, Who committed the first hostilities ? It is evident that the first act of hostility was committed by us ; and, in my opinion, the Caribbes are justified in what they have done, and I heartily second the motion.’

Between twelve and one there were two divisions ; the first on the question That it appears the measure to extirpate the Caribbes was not grounded upon sufficient reasons, but upon the opinions of persons interested in their destruction. Upon this the numbers were, 206 ; Opposition, 88. The second question was, That it appears the military were not sent in the proper season, and that the expedition was likely to end in the ruin of some of the best troops in the service. Upon this the numbers were, 199 ; Opposition, 78.— A motion was also made, and the question put, that an address be presented to his Majesty, that he would acquaint the House by whose advice the attacking the Caribbes was undertaken in the unhealthy season of the year, against the known humanity of his Majesty’s temper, disgraceful to his Majesty’s arms, and to the character of the British nation ; which likewise passed in the negative.

C O N C L U S I O N.

T H I S resolution acquitted the subjects of Great Britain of any crime in all they did to the Caribbes of St Vincent’s, whatever were the number of these poor people that were destroyed in consequence of the desire to have their lands ; and all the sanction which such a national acquittal can give, to the same conduct in the subjects of this kingdom in any other part of the world, remains in full force to this day.

THE accounts of the trade to Africa shew that the people of that country have, in consequence of it, been kept in a state of war and confusion, by the people of Great Britain for many years, that a great number, of which no account is given, lose their lives in the battles that are fought to force them into our hands; and that on an average of the accounts of the number taken away in different years, there appears to be more than seventy thousand yearly; and the accounts agreeing that at least one third of the number lose their lives in consequence of our taking them away, in fourteen years, from 1760, above three hundred thousand men, women and children will have been destroyed, and double that number taken into slavery to the subjects of the crown of Great Britain. And to all that these people have hitherto suffered at our hands, whenever any of our colonies or plantations may be again in a state of peace, the subjects of Great Britain have the sanction of the state to enter again upon this trade, and spread all that misery among the people of Africa, which any people must live in, who are in constant fear of being forced away without distinction of rank, age, or sex, into a foreign slavery.

THE accounts of the conduct of the subjects of Great Britain in India shews, that many millions of money have been brought away from the people of that country, by means the most unjust and violent; that the princes of India have been deprived of their dominions by force, in the name of the East India Company; and that in the course of these proceedings as many of the natives have been destroyed, or fled from the fear of us from their country, as there were of inhabitants in our American colonies before the war began—that is, about three millions.—That all this conduct down to the year 1772, has been before the representatives of the people of Great-Britain, and their solemn resolution has been, That great and meritorious services have been rendered by the principal person concerned in these transactions to that time in India, and not a single person has received blame, censure, or punishment, for any thing that has been done by the subjects of Great-Britain to the princes and nations of India, from the commencement of our first wars to the year 1772; but that the nation has made all that has been done as much its own, as that which is done by a few, can be made the act of all who participate with them in what has been obtained, and acquit them of all blame as to the manner by which they did it. And to this day that society of the subjects of this kingdom, in whose name all these crimes have been committed against every principle of justice, humanity, and whatever is allowed to be right among mankind, is suffered to have
its

